

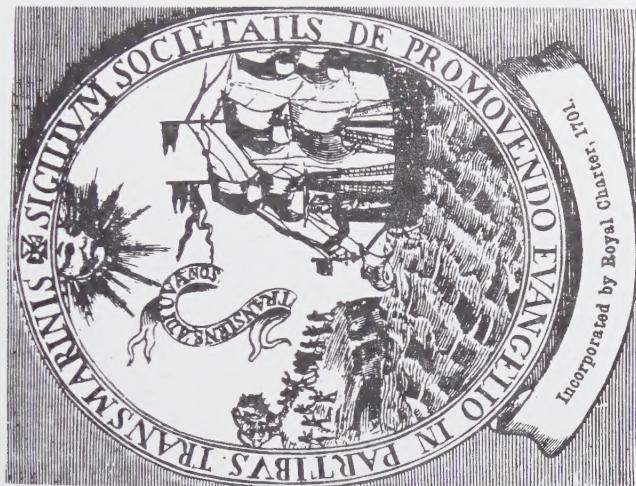


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HISTORICAL NOTES

RESPECTING THE PARISH

OF

STRATFIELD, AND NEWFIELD,

NOW

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

By WILLIAM B. HINCKS.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH Bridgeport has become the third city of Connecticut in point of wealth and population, and is inferior to none of its rivals in business enterprise and activity, it must be confessed that its career offers but slight temptation to the historian. Its triumphs have been those of peace, and the record of its progress an uneventful one, darkened by no great reverses. Though this uniform prosperity can not be a cause of regret, it imparts to the history of the place something of monotony. There are, however, many scattered incidents connected with the growth of the place, that possess at least a local interest, but each passing day renders the memory of these occurrences more indistinct, and increases the difficulty of obtaining them. It is with the hope of preserving some of them so that they may be available for future use that the present sketch has been undertaken. The author in preparing it has made frequent use of the "Recollections of Olden Time," by Esq. Isaac Sherman, and the "History of New Haven Colony," by Mr. E. R. Lambert, both late residents of Bridgeport. He would

also acknowledge his obligations to Messrs. R. B. Lacey, W. R. Bunnell, Joshua Lord, and others, for information furnished him.

The necessary limits of the article did not permit its being brought down to a more recent period than the year 1850. Hence some additional material that has been collected could not be made use of, and the narrative will be found, like the valentine of Mr. Samuel Weller, "to pull up very sudden."

Perhaps at some future day it may be continued, and brought to completion.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ALONG the northern edge of the city of Bridgeport runs a broad and ancient road, now comparatively little traveled, but formerly an important thoroughfare.

Passing with level course the quiet resting-place of our dead in the beautiful Mountain Grove Cemetery, and the humbler enclosure upon the other side, where repose no less peacefully the remains of the early settlers, it rises where it crosses Park Avenue, and winds over the brow of a rocky hill till it reaches Main Street, where it resumes its former level. Beyond this point it inclines still farther towards the north, and crossing the Pequonnock River only a little below the reservoir, widens into the beautiful common, known as Old Mill Green, and is finally lost to view on the further side of the lofty hill which intervenes between us and the village of Stratford. To a portion of this road the name of North Avenue has been recently given, but it is more frequently spoken of as the "Old Stage-road," or the "King's Highway," from the circumstance that it was laid out long prior to the revolution, when this locality was a part of the territory of Great Britain. Along this line, about midway between the settlements of Stratford and Fairfield, the first white inhabitants of this vicinity planted themselves. There were a few houses built to the northward on what is now the Easton Turnpike, and some others further south upon Division Street, but the old road was the centre of population, and formed the main street of the plantation.

Strolling along this highway on a summer afternoon, many a pleasant picture of the olden time is suggested to one contemplatively inclined. Its very width, which, with a single exception, is more than twice that of any other street in the place, shows that the land was of less value formerly than at present. The absence of any uniform line would also suggest that the fields were first laid out, while the road was left to take care of itself.

Here and there stands a house fronting upon it, of antique fashion, its shingled sides overgrown with moss, and long sloping roof, descending nearly to the ground in the rear, showing it to be the relic of another generation.

The milestones upon the road, (one of which it is unpleasant to observe is defaced by a painted advertisement of "dry goods and carpets,") are supposed to have been set up by Benjamin Franklin when he was postmaster-general of the United States, and this was a part of the regular mail route between New York and Boston.

But the history of the place dates back very much further than Franklin's time, and nearly a hundred and fifty years before he passed over the old road in his carriage, with a curious device for measuring the distance attached to its hub, English-speaking peo-

ple had their habitations here. Before *them*, of course, were the aborigines, the best account of whom is contained in Deforest's "History of the Indians of Connecticut."

They belonged to the Paugusset tribe, and their domain extended for fifteen miles along the coast, and some distance back into the country. It included the land now divided into eight townships—those of Bridgeport, Stratford, Milford, Huntington, Derby, Orange, Trumbull, and Monroe. The Wepawaugs, upon the east side of the Housatonic River, are thought to have been a branch of the same tribe. Their neighbors upon the east were the Quinnipiacks, of New Haven; on the west the Unkawas, of Fairfield; and upon the north the Potatucks, of Newtown and Woodbury. With the exception of this latter tribe, which was far from numerous, the back country, comprising the present limits of Litchfield, and portions of Fairfield and Hartford Counties, was almost uninhabited at the time of its discovery by the English. The Paugussets had villages at Stratford and Milford, and at other points upon the banks of the Housatonic River. At one of these settlements, on the east side of the river, about half a mile north of Washington Bridge, they had a strong fortress, consisting of banks of earth, and stout palisades set firmly in the ground, which was designed to protect them against their enemies, the Mohawks. The first settlements in this part of the country by the whites were made in 1639, at Stratford, *Pequonnoch* and Fairfield, as will be hereafter related in detail. They purchased the land which they occupied from the Indian sachems, who agreed to defend their title against any other Indians whatsoever. The usual manner of purchase at that time was the Indian method of "twig and turf." A twig and a piece of turf being brought to the Sagamore, he placed the end of the branch in the clod, and then gave it to the English as a token that he thereby surrendered to them the soil, with all the trees and appurtenances. In 1659, twenty years after the original settlement, the territory of the Paugussets having become much contracted by successive sales to the whites, it was decreed by the General Court sitting at Hartford, that a reservation of about eighty acres of land should be laid for the Indians upon "Gold Hill," as it was then called, commencing at the foot of the hill, and embracing its entire surface. The committee appointed to see that this order was put in execution were Mr. Campbell, Thomas Fitch, Richard Olmstead, and Nathaniel Elye, of Norwalk. This was the same eminence which is now known to us as Golden Hill, so called from the glistening mica found in its rocks. The value of the reservation was appraised by the committee at twenty pounds sterling, which sum was afterwards paid to the town of Stratford by Fairfield, as many of the Indians who were removed to this tract had previously lived within the limits of the latter place. About a hundred wigwams stood at the foot of the hill, and in them the Indians resided during the winter, living chiefly upon shell fish. It is stated by old inhabitants that underneath the level of Elm Street is a deposit of shells five or six feet in depth, which were thrown there by the Indians.

During the summer months the men would frequently be absent for weeks at a time upon hunting excursions through the forests which covered the entire country a little way back from the coast. The women and children on such occasions would be left behind to cultivate their corn-fields, with which the larger portion of the hill was covered. The corn they were accustomed to either roast green, or to dry and pound in mortars hollowed out from the rock. A good specimen of this kind of mortar may still be seen on the ledge a few miles west of Bridgeport, known as Samp Mortar Rock. Two others also remain upon a hill west of the reservoir.

Their burial-ground was upon Golden Hill, near the head of Broad Street, though their bones have been found at various times in other places.

After the year 1659, when their land was set off to them, these Indians were generally known as the Golden Hill tribe, from the name of their reservation. In the year 1731 the last sachem who had exercised authority over all the branches of the tribe died, and at his death the tribe was broken up. Some removed to New York and joined the Six Nations, and others connected themselves with the Potatucks of Newtown. But very few remained upon their land at Golden Hill, as is shown by the fact that in 1765 the remnant of the tribe had dwindled to four men and three women. Seeing their numbers so reduced the settlers began to encroach upon their reservation, and to tear down the unoccupied wigwams. Three of the Indians, named respectively, John, Eunice, and Sarah Shoran or Sherman, petitioned the legislature for redress. The matter was investigated, and the parties who had encroached upon them were ordered to vacate the premises, and to restore the land which they had unlawfully occupied. A compromise was, however, finally effected, by which the Indians gave up all right and title to their Golden Hill property, receiving in exchange twelve acres of land on the west bank of the Pequonnock River, eight acres of woodland on Rocky Hill, thirty bushels of corn, and three pounds worth of blankets. The tract upon the river to which they removed was afterwards known as the "Indian Lot," and was situated near the present junction of Main and Franklin Streets. Within the recollection of men now living an Indian wigwam stood upon it. A clear spring of water in the same vicinity was also known as the "Indian Spring." The Rocky Hill tract was north of the present reservoir.

Both of these pieces of land were eventually sold, and the proceeds, amounting to a considerable sum, invested for the benefit of the surviving members of the tribe. In 1842 the sum of five hundred dollars from this fund was expended in purchasing a small house and about twenty acres of wild land, in the township of Trumbull, to which they were removed. Until quite a recent period some of these Indians and those of another family, called the Pan tribe, would occasionally visit this city. They were all poor, miserable, and degraded, and it seems probable that the race is now entirely extinct.

The first time these coasts were ever trodden by the foot of the white man was during the memorable pursuit of the Pequot Indians, in 1637. After the destruction of the main body of their tribe at the "Pequot Fort," on Groton Hill, the survivors fled southward and westward along the shore of the sound. They were pursued by a body of troops under the command of Captain Mason and Lieutenant Davenport, accompanied by a number of Indian allies. The country at that time was covered with a thick forest, and the wide and deep currents of the Housatonic (then called the Paugusset) and of the Pequonnock presented serious obstacles to their passage. The latter river must have been crossed above Berkshire Pond, for below that point it is not fordable even at the present day, when its depth is much less than formerly. Near this place occurred a skirmish, in which a soldier named John Woods was killed. Two years later a musket with his initials carved upon it was found by Lieutenant Thomas Bull, and by him was restored to Woods' relatives. Near the present site of the village of Southport the fugitives were overtaken, the swamp in which they had sought refuge was surrounded, and all were destroyed or taken prisoners.

Upon the return of the army the soldiers carried back favorable

reports of the country through which they had passed, and in 1639 tracts of land at *Cupheag*, afterwards called Stratford, and at *Pughquonock*, were purchased from the Paugusset Indians, and settlements commenced upon them. *Unquowa*, or Fairfield, was also settled about the same time.

It would be a matter of interest to know who the original planters at Pequonnock were, and the precise spot upon which they located, but this is now impossible. We know, however, that there must have been a considerable number, as in October, 1639, a committee was appointed by the General Court, then sitting at Hartford, to repair to Pequonnock. They were ordered to administer the oath of fidelity to the planters, and to direct them to choose two deputies to represent them in the next General Court, and to designate a proper person to exercise the men in military discipline. They were also to establish a court whose jurisdiction should be confined to small cases, in which the amount in dispute should not exceed the value of 40 shillings. Perhaps in the term Pequonnock, the territory now embraced in the limits of Fairfield may have also been included, but it is unmistakeable that the name itself was given to the territory lying contiguous to the boundary line between the plantations of Stratford and Fairfield.

The following is the earliest list extant of the freemen or voters in the town of Fairfield. It was rendered by the selectmen or constables of the place, in the year 1669, and has been preserved in Trumbull's Historical Collections. The names of such as resided within the present limits of the town of Bridgeport are designated by an asterisk (*).

"A LIST OF Y^E NAMES OF Y^E FREEMEN OF TOWNE OF FAIREFIELD."

Jno: Odell,*
James Bennet,*
Math: Sherwood,*
Rich^d Hubball,*
Jno^o Wheeler,*
Ezekiell Sanford,
Tho: Morehouse,*
Sam^{ll} Morhouse,
Nath^{ll} Seely,*
Rob^t Turney,
Tho: Bennet,*
Tho: Jones,
Mr. Nathan Gold,
Mr. Willm. Hill,
Will^m Ward,
Oct. 10, '69.

Nath^{ll} Burr,*
John Buckley,
Mr. Jehu Burr,*
John Banks,
John Palmer,
Cornelius Hall,
Jno^o Burr,*
Joshua Knowle,
John Cable, Sr.,*
Humphrey Hide,
Jno. Hide,
Peter Coley,
Jn^o Knowle,
Jn^o Sturge,
Dan^{ll} Lockwood,
Jno^o Cable, Junr.,*
Mr. Dan^{ll} Burr,*
Rich^d Ogden,
Dan^{ll} Frost,
Joseph Lockwood,
John Green, Sen.,
Simon Crouch,
Sam^{ll} Ward,
John Barlow,
Robert Beachen,
Mr. Wakeman,
Henry Jackson,
Henry Rowland,*
Thomas Staples,

JOHN STURGIS, selectman.
PETER SLAPUM, (?) selectman.
JOHN KNOWLE, selectman.
WILLIAM WARD, NATHANIELL BUR, constables.

compounded of Stratford and Fairfield, as a part of the settlement lay upon each side of the boundary line between these two places.

II.

For more than fifty years after the first settlement of Pequonnock, or Stratfield, the planters possessed no church of their own, but were forced to attend service upon the Sabbath either at Stratford or at Fairfield. In the winter and in stormy weather this must have been very inconvenient, for attendance upon public worship was compulsory, and its omission not easily excused, as the following extract from the New Haven records shows:

"In 1647 William Blayden was publicly and severely whipped for not attending meeting, although he plead that all the clothes he had were unfit to wear, being all wet through the preceding Saturday, as he had been abroad after cattle in the woods in a violent rain, and on the Sunday had kept his bed."

Finding the long distance which they were compelled to traverse on each Sabbath burdensome, and the place having increased somewhat in size, application was at length made to the legislature for relief, and in the year 1690 ecclesiastical privileges were granted to the parish of Stratfield. This was the first parish in the state which obtained these privileges. The limits of the new parish embraced the greater part of what is now the town of Bridgeport, including the territory which has recently been annexed. It was bounded upon the east by the Pequonnock River, south by Long Island Sound, west by the course of Ash Creek, and north by the present town of Easton.

In the year 1693 the foundation of a house of worship was laid on an eminence in the upper part of Division Street, a few rods south of the King's Highway. This height affords a pleasant view of the surrounding country, and is still called "Meeting-House Hill." The building, though small, was not completed until 1695, and in the mean time it is probable that the people gathered upon the Sabbath in a private house, having already provided themselves with a pastor.

This was Rev. Charles Chauncey, son of Mr. Israel Chauncey, the Congregational minister at Stratford, and grandson of Charles Chauncey, a distinguished clergyman, formerly professor of Greek and Latin at Cambridge University, England, and afterwards for many years the honored president of Harvard College in this country.

Mr. Israel Chauncey, of Stratford, is celebrated as one of the original founders of Yale College. In 1701 he was chosen president of the institution, but declined the honor.

In a work published by one of his descendants, the following anecdote is related concerning him: A certain Mr. Walker, a minister who had recently come to Stratford, and was supposed to be trying to draw off a portion of Mr. Chauncey's congregation, preached a sermon, taking for his text the passage—"What went ye out into the wilderness to see; a reed shaken in the wind?" During his discourse he made some disparaging remarks, which were understood to apply to Mr. Chauncey personally. In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Chauncey preached from the text—"Your adversary, the devil, walketh about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour;" and in the course of his sermon observed, "You see, my brethren, that the devil is a great Walker."

Mr. Chauncey owned a farm in Stratford, which was cultivated by slave labor, as was usual at that day, and at his death left an estate valued at £748, clear of encumbrances.

Charles Chauncey, the younger, was born in Stratford, September 3d, 1668. He graduated at Harvard College in 1686, and

It may be observed that it is probable that the above list does not contain all the names of heads of families at that time residing in the place, as it is not unlikely that none but church members in good standing were allowed to vote. The remains of some of these men rest in the old Stratfield burying ground, where stones have been found bearing date about 1640. Many of these are of extremely rude construction, apparently wrought by the relatives of the deceased, from the quarries, before there was any regular stone-cutter in the place. Upon the earliest of them only the initials and the date are carved, and the lapse of time and the action of the weather has rendered even these almost illegible, and it is only by extreme care that they can be deciphered.

In the year 1640 a commission was appointed by the General Court at Hartford, to go down to Pequonnock and settle the question of boundary, concerning which a dispute had arisen with their neighbors upon each side. Some time after this date the name of the plantation was changed from Pequonnock to *Stratfield*, a name



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commenced preaching to the people of Stratfield in 1693, being twenty-five years of age at the time. Upon the 29th of June, 1692, he was married to Miss Sarah Burr, of Stratfield. She was granddaughter of Mr. Jehu Burr, one of the original settlers, and daughter of Colonel John Burr, for many years one of the most prominent men in the place.

Colonel Burr built his house near the picturesque old oak, which every one who has passed through Fairfield Avenue or State Street extension must have noticed and admired. Under the wide spreading branches of this old tree, which was then green and flourishing, he held a meeting of the Indian Sagamores, and from them purchased the farm upon which it stands, a portion of which is still owned by his granddaughter, the venerable Miss Polly Burr, of Fairfield Avenue.

A house was built for the young minister and his wife upon the northwest corner of Colonel Burr's farm. It is no longer standing, but the ruins of the cellar may still be seen upon the east side of Cook's Lane. Respecting this spot Esq. Sherman writes: "Until now, or very recently, there was standing near the old cellar of his dwelling one of the largest bell-pears trees that I have ever seen.

It was at least two feet in diameter at the root, and about sixty feet high. It was straight-bodied, and without a limb for the first forty feet from the ground. It had considerable top, and yielded fruit every year. I have no doubt that it was planted by Colonel John Burr, or Parson Chauncey, at least 160 years ago."

Mr. Chauncey's salary was £60 per annum, payable in provisions at the market rate. This sum was afterwards increased to £80 per year.

In June, 1695, the new meeting-house was completed, and upon the 13th was opened for worship. Mr. Chauncey was ordained pastor, and the Congregational Church of Stratfield formed upon the same day. This is the church which is now known as the First Congregational or North Church of Bridgeport.

The meeting-house had no bell to call the worshipers together, but they were summoned by the beating of a drum. The men carried arms to defend themselves from the attacks of the Indians, upon whose friendship it was not deemed safe to rely too implicitly. A sentinel was posted upon the summit of the hill, where the church was built, to keep watch while the services were conducted within. We may imagine the savages, on the day of the dedication, standing in groups upon the top of the opposite eminence, where St. Augustine's Catholic Church now is, and which was within the bounds of their reservation, listening to the unaccustomed sound of the drum, and watching the worshipers assemble.

The original members of the church were nine in number, all males, viz:

RICHARD HUBBELL,	SAMUEL GREGORY,
ISAAC WHEELER,	MATTHEW SHERMAN,
JAMES BENNETT,	RICHARD HUBBELL, Jr.,
SAMUEL BEARDSLEY,	DAVID SHERMAN,
JOHN ODELL, Jun.	

Some apology may seem necessary for the space devoted to its history, and the minuteness with which its growth is traced in these pages, but it must be remembered that for many years the church organization was the only one in the place. Church and state were also more intimately connected at that day than at present, and it was in the meeting-house that all school meetings were held, and all secular affairs, requiring a gathering of the people, transacted. The recorder of the society was also *ex-officio* a public officer, whose duties were somewhat like those of our town clerks, and upon the society's book may be found not only minutes of ecclesi-

astical transactions, but of conveyance of real estate, and sales of horses and cattle.

Several pages are filled with the record of bargains of this latter description, the price paid being sometimes in cash, but frequently in another sort of currency, as shown by the following extract:

"April 5, 1703. Sam^l French sold James Hubbell one horse,—black, with Abell Brigham's ear mark: 2 yr old, for the sume of 8 Sheep and 2 Lams."

Mr. Chauncey's ministry lasted for over twenty years, during which time both the church and the settlement steadily increased in numbers. Besides the Sabbath services he was in the habit of delivering a religious lecture once in seven weeks, according to the custom of the times. These lectures must have been solid affairs, for it was usual to commence them when the sun was at least three hours high, and they undoubtedly lasted until sunset. On Sunday afternoon the youth of both sexes were assembled in the church and catechized publicly. No levity of demeanor was allowed upon such occasions, but it appears that even Puritan young folk were sometimes tempted in that direction, as is shown by an entry upon the society's record book.

"Voted that Nathaniel Wackle (Wakeley?) should be the man to look after y^e boyes a Sabbath dayes in time of Exercise, that they play not."

Besides the catechism, "y^e boyes" were taught upon the week days to read, write, and cipher, at least in the winter season, for in summer they helped carry on the farms. The first school-house was built in 1703, near the corner of Division Street and the old road. It was 21 feet in length and 16 feet wide. The school-teacher stood only second in estimation to the minister, and was always dignified with the honorary title of master. His ordinary compensation was 40s. per month. All the text-books used in the schools were the Bible and Youth's Instructor, which last was afterwards superseded by Dilworth's Spelling Book. Instead of using an arithmetic it was customary for the master "to set sums." The rod was used freely in the schools, it being the popular opinion that "to spare the rod was to spoil the child. Who the first school-master was in the parish we are not informed, but among the first was Master William Rogers. The agreement entered into between him and the school committee for the parish of Stratfield, in the year 1710, is still extant, and is as follows. The members of the committee that year were Samuel Hubbell and Benjamin Fayerweather.

"The said William Rogers, Schoolmaster of the said Plantation, is to keep a Reading and writing School in the said Plantation, to teach the children & Youth to Read, write & cypher, the terme and time of Six months, commencing on the first day of the Instant Jan⁷ (1710). And if said Rogers shall be wanting in said six months, he is to keep a night school,—viz: five nights every week (unto) the Tenth day of March next, and the said Plantation is to pay to (said) Rogers the sum of Nineteen pounds as Provision pay, and the remaynder as hath been payd to other Schoolmasters, to be judgd by the Treasurer of the place, at or before the first day of Aprill next."

The frequent mention of sheep, and the recurrence of the word *sheep-masters* upon the parish records about this time, may require some explanation. The following is believed to be substantially correct.

The country being well adapted to grazing, every farmer had his flock, from whose wool the thrifty housewife prepared the home-spun clothing for the family.

The care of all the flocks in summer was entrusted to three "sheep-masters," who for many years were chosen annually. The

sheep were permitted to graze on the commons under the care of a shepherd during the day-time, but at night were all folded in a single inclosure. After a time it occurred to the prudent sheep-masters that their revenues might be increased by renting the sheep each night to the neighboring farmers for the purpose of enriching their land.

This practice prevailed until some true son of Connecticut, more crafty than his brethren, took the opportunity to shear the sheep one night when they were pastured on his land, inflicting thereby great detriment to the financial scheme of the worthy sheep-masters.

Mr. Chauncey's first wife, Sarah Burr, died in 1697. In the following year he married Miss Sarah Wolcott, sister of Roger Wolcott, the governor of Connecticut. She lived but five years, and upon the 14th of March, 1710, we find him again married, this time to Miss Elizabeth Sherwood, who outlived him.

He died upon the 31st of December, 1714. By his will he appears to have been possessed not only of a small estate in Lambeth, England, which his father had left him, but also of the old homestead in Stratford, and of real estate, slaves, &c., in his own parish. These were divided between his widow and the surviving children.

Commodore Isaac Chauncey, who was born at Black Rock, and who distinguished himself as a naval commander in the war of 1812, was his great-grandson.

It was some time before a successor to Mr. Chauncey could be found. In the month of March following his death the society voted that Captain David Sherman should be employed to go to "Cabrück" (Saybrook?) to see if he could not prevail upon Rev. Mr. Voys, of that place, to be their minister. His mission appears to have been unsuccessful.

Upon the 21st of June, 1715, the society voted to extend a call to Rev. Samuel Cooke, of New Haven, offering him a salary of one hundred pounds sterling, and Major John Burr, Captains James Bennett and David Sherman, Lieutenant Richard Hubbell and Sergeant John Odell, were appointed a committee to treat with Mr. Cooke and see if he would accept the terms offered. Whether the minister was overawed by this display of military force or not does not appear, but he presently capitulated, and signified his acceptance of the call in the following letter:

REV. MR. COOKE'S LETTER.

"To the Worshipfull Mr. James Bennet and the other Gentlemen of the Com^{ee} Apointed By the Sosiety of Stratfield to treat with mee:—Gentlemen, plas to inform your Sosiety that I am Content to sarve them in y^e minestry as soun as Convenient provided they Agree Charfully and unanimously to pay mee 100 pound pr. annum as long as I shall Sarfe them in that Capasety, to bee pad in Corant money of this Colony, or provisions at the following Rates, viz:

"Indin 2s., ry at 2s. 8d., wheat at 4s. pr bushel, porck at 20s. pr cwt., and also to provide me firwood annually, as much as I shall have occasion for the yous of my family, provided I met with no discouragements now unseen. I am Gentlemen your harty wel wishers & humble Sarv'.

SAM^{EL} COOKE."

Mr. Cooke's terms were accepted, and he shortly came to Stratfield and entered upon his duties. He took up his residence in a house nearly opposite to that which had been owned by Mr. Chauncey, on the street which is still called after him—Cooke's Lane. Mr. Cooke was a man of much dignity, and his people held him in great respect. On public occasions he always appeared in full

ministerial costume, viz: a heavy curled wig, black coat and small clothes, shoes fastened with silver buckles, and over all a large cloak or gown.

III.

As early as the year 1707 services according to the form of the Protestant Episcopal Church were held in the parish of Stratfield. They were conducted by Rev. George Muirson, an agent of the English "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," who was stationed at Rye, N. Y., but made this journey into Connecticut at the above date. These services were held in a private house, as there was at that time no Episcopal church edifice in the colony. A few persons, mostly adults, were baptized.

In 1748 the number of Episcopilians in Stratfield having considerably increased, they proceeded, under the advice of Rev. Mr. Lamson, of Fairfield, to erect a house of worship, which was called St. John's Church. It was a small frame building with a steeple, and stood upon the east side of Church Lane, a narrow street running north from the old King's Highway, and not far from Division Street. It was the eighteenth Episcopal church built in the colony, and as was frequently the case, was opened for service before its completion. The principal subscribers towards building it were Colonel John Burr, John Holturton, Timothy Wheeler, Joseph Seeley, John Nichols, Richard Hall, and Samuel Beardsley.

This church was for many years supplied by Rev. Mr. Lamson, of Fairfield, who preached in it one Sunday in four. His successor was Rev. John Sayre, also of Fairfield, and a missionary of the society to which reference has been made. During the Revolutionary War this gentleman's sympathies were with the king's government, on which account he incurred considerable hostility.

When he no longer deemed it safe to read the prayers for the king and the royal family in his pulpit, he chose to omit the liturgy altogether from his services, and to limit them to reading the Scriptures, singing, and preaching. After the burning of the village of Fairfield by the British, in 1779, he fled to New York, from whence he subsequently emigrated to New Brunswick.

The Episcopal church in Stratfield parish does not appear to have been entirely completed until 1789, in which year it was consecrated by the Right Rev. Bishop Seabury. Rev. Philo Shelton, who commenced his labors about this time, was its first settled minister. Above his remains, which were interred in the Episcopal church, at Mill Plain, Fairfield, (which was also under his charge,) the following inscription was placed: "Under the altar, at which he served more than forty years, are the remains of the Rev. PHILO SHELTON, A. M., rector of Trinity Church, Fairfield. Born at Huntington, May 5th, 1754. Graduated at Yale College, September 9th, 1778. Admitted, August 3d, 1785, to the Holy Order of Deacons, by the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D. D., (first American bishop,) and September 18th, 1785, by the same prelate, to the Holy Order of Priests, being the first clergyman Episcopally ordained in the United States. Died February 27th, 1825." Mr. Shelton's remains have since been removed to Bridgeport.

Their present edifice is the third house of worship that has been occupied by St. John's Church, the second having been built in 1801, at the corner of State and Broad Streets, where the Baptist Church now stands, and the present one in 1836.

In 1717, the building upon Meeting-House Hill being found too small for the use of the Congregational Society, a new house was built on the northeast corner of Division Street and the old road. This edifice was taken down in 1834, but some vestiges of it yet

remain. The cost of the building, including a gallery, which was afterwards added, was £300. The two sexes occupied opposite sides of the house, and were seated by a committee appointed for that purpose once a year, according to their different social position, or, as the old record quaintly has it, "by dignity, Age, and a State."

A list, made by Rev. Samuel Cooke, of all the householders in the parish of Stratfield, has been preserved, and a copy of it was published in the *DAILY STANDARD*, in the year 1866. Did our limits permit we would gladly re-produce it here. It was arranged alphabetically, and contained the names of 147 heads of families at that time resident in the place. This would make the total population somewhere about seven hundred persons.

Mr. Cooke died in November, 1747. His successor in the ministry was Rev. Robert Ross, who was born in America of Irish parents, and was educated at Princeton. He was settled in Stratfield in 1754, and continued as pastor of the Congregational Church for more than forty years. He died in 1797, and the grave where rest his remains, and those of his wife, and their only son, who all died within a few days of each other, may be seen in the Stratfield burying-ground.

A remarkable occurrence took place during his ministry. The people had assembled for worship on the morning of Sunday, July 28th, 1771. A thunder shower was gathering, but the service went on as usual until the congregation rose and remained standing, while the minister led them in prayer. The room grew darker and darker as the heavy clouds rolled up, while the distant muttering of the thunder showed that a fearful storm was impending. The form of the pastor at length became almost invisible in the deepening gloom, but still he prayed on. Suddenly a dazzling glare of light filled the room, revealing in its swift passage the pale faces of the startled worshipers. The crashing peal of thunder which followed drowned the voice of the speaker, and he paused breathless. When the last echo of the thunder had died away, and the people were again left in darkness, there was an interval of awful expectancy. At length a solemn voice from the pulpit broke the stillness with the words—*"Are we all here?"* For the moment no one could answer; but as the congregation moved out and left the church, it was found that two of the most respected citizens had been taken in an instant from the house of God below into the nobler house not made with hands above. They were two of the best men in the little congregation—Lieutenant David Sherman and Captain John Burr—both of them in full health and in the prime of life. The former lived on Division Street, near the church; the latter in a house where the residence of William Leigh, Esq., now stands. Several other persons were also slightly injured at the same time. It is not surprising to find that after this experience the society voted to place a lightning-rod, then a new invention, upon the meeting-house.

The first Masonic body in this community was organized February 12th, 1762, and has ever since been known by the title of "St. John's Lodge No. 3 of F. & A. M." As indicated by the number, it was the third institution of the kind in the state, the lodges in New Haven and Middletown only having been established at an earlier date. The first "Worshipful Master" of St. John's Lodge was Captain Eleazer Hubbell.

Before the commencement of the revolutionary war a few families had located themselves upon the west bank of the Pequonnock river, on the ground which is now in the heart of the city of Bridgeport. This was for many years called *Newfield*, and formed a portion of the town of Stratford. Tradition states that at this time there was no street leading from Stratfield to the harbor, but only

a path through the fields. This path was entered through a gate, upon which was a sign bearing the inscription, "Shut the gate."

The outbreak of hostilities found the inhabitants of Stratfield no mere indifferent spectators. Parson Ross, the Congregational clergyman, and the only settled minister in the place, was a strong Whig, and exerted his influence in favor of liberty. During the whole progress of the war he was accustomed to pray every Sabbath from his pulpit for the success of the Americans, never failing to make use of the petition, "that one might put a thousand to flight."

At this time the people of Stratfield were accustomed to resort to a tavern, kept by John Nichols, to discuss politics and war matters. This building is still standing upon the old highway, not far from Mountain Grove Cemetery. Being upon the direct line between New York and Boston, many travelers were entertained within its walls, among whom is supposed to have been General Washington. The following account of his visit is taken from an article published in the *STANDARD* about twenty years ago:

"Near that ancient resting-place for the dead—Stratfield burying-ground—passes the highway which for many years was the road between New York and Boston. At the southern edge of this burying-ground, and on the said highway, stands an old building, now the residence of H. K. Haight, Esq., which, prior, during, and subsequent, to the war of the revolution, was used as an inn or public house. It was for a long time kept by one John Nichols, and known for many years as the Big Tavern. General Washington and other distinguished persons of the revolution have lodged within this house, making it a stopping-place on their way to New York or Boston; and the south-east corner room of this tavern is said to have been occupied as the parlor of the illustrious father of his country. For the gratification of those who desire particulars in regard to the fact that Washington has been within the walls of this house, we would state that we have evidence in our possession to lead us to assert that General Washington, Major-General Lee, Major Thomas Mifflin, Washington's aide-de-camp, and Samuel Griffin, Esq., General Lee's aide-de camp, stopped at this Stratfield tavern in July, 1775."

It is unpleasant to be compelled to doubt a statement of this kind, particularly when it is supported by "evidence;" but as history shows that Washington arrived in Cambridge, Mass., on the *second* day of July, 1775, and remained there about a year, we are forced to conclude, either that he rode as fast as the famous John Gilpin after leaving the "Big Tavern," or else that Esq. Sherman's version of the story is the more correct one. This is, that Washington stopped in Stratfield in March, 1781, when on his way to meet Count Rochambeau at Newport.

At one time during the war Nichols' tavern was the depository of a quantity of gunpowder, designed for the defense of the place. A guard was stationed over the building to protect it from the tories.

An incident which took place at this tavern near the commencement of the war, aptly illustrates the spirit which prevailed among the people at the time. Quite a number of persons were present, among them Rev. Mr. Ross, and a blacksmith appropriately named Bangs, whose two sons subsequently became eminent ministers of the Methodist denomination. Some question having arisen as to whether the people of the colonies were willing to make the necessary sacrifices to secure their independence from British tyranny, the sturdy blacksmith arose, and with flashing eye and glowing countenance proclaimed, that for his part he would be willing not only to die, but to suffer eternal punishment, if thereby he could be

the means of making America free.

"It is a good thing to be zealous, Brother Bangs, but not *too* zealous," replied Parson Ross, who was, perhaps, a little alarmed by the vehemence of his parishioner, and calling for his hat the old gentleman took his departure.

At noon upon the second of February, 1775, as we are informed by an old diary kept by one of the residents of the place, there was heard, by the inhabitants of Stratfield, "a report in the air like thunder, and a great ball of fire of various colors was seen to fly swiftly through the sky to the eastward."

Whether this was regarded as prophetic of bloodshed we are not informed; but in the latter part of the month of April the news reached the settlement of the battle of Lexington. Much excitement was created, and Captain Abijah Sterling immediately raised a detachment of ten men and marched for the seat of war. Upon their arrival at Hartford they reported to the authorities, but finding that for some cause their services were not required, returned home. Captain Abijah Sterling was grandfather of Hon. D. H. Sterling, and of the late Hon. Sherwood Sterling, of this city, and a leading man in the place throughout the whole revolutionary period. His residence was upon that part of the old road now called North Avenue, on the knoll, a little west of the Tom Thumb house, and is still standing. He was of fine personal appearance, public spirited, and for many years a representative in the legislature. He was descended from Jacob Sterling, an early settler.

Soon after the battle of Lexington, Captain Brooks, of Stratford, the grandfather of Captain John Brooks, Jr., of this place, was chased in from sea by the British ship *Asia*. The *Asia* then made her appearance in the sound, and lay at anchor for a number of days off Stratford, creating much alarm among the citizens, to whom the sight of a British man-of-war was an unprecedented one. Fears were entertained that a landing would be made from the vessel, and houses and other property destroyed; but these apprehensions proved groundless.

In the autumn of 1775 an expedition numbering about eleven hundred men, under command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, was dispatched to attempt the conquest of Canada. Among the members of this force was a detachment of volunteers from Stratfield. Before the departure of the company from the place, it was mustered in the door-yard of Parson Ross, where all the members knelt down while the good man offered prayer for the soldiers, and for the success of their enterprise. The former part of the prayer was answered, for all the members of the company seem to have lived to return home in safety.

Upon the thirteenth of August, 1776, the householders of Stratfield having assembled for the purpose, formed themselves into a militia company, and made choice of the following officers: Hezekiah Hubbell, Captain; James Hamilton, First Lieutenant; Stephen Burroughs, Second Lieutenant; and Joseph Strong, Clerk.

This company was designed for home defense, and continued in existence throughout the war.

Besides this organization was another which had existed previous to the revolution, and was called the "Stratfield Train Band." It was commanded by Captain Thaddeus Bennet and Lieutenant Edward Burroughs. In the latter part of the month of August, 1776, this company was ordered to join the continental army in New York. While quartered in this place many of the men suffered severely from dysentery, and two of them—David Sherman and Stephen Sterling—were so much reduced that they were discharged by Captain Beonet. Hearing of their condition Abijah Sterling went down to their relief. He found them in a barn near Harlem,

unable to move, and brought them home in his chaise, going on foot himself and leading his horse all the way. They eventually recovered, but Lieutenant Burroughs died of the same complaint soon after returning home.

Captain Bennet's company narrowly escaped capture by the British upon the evacuation of New York, owing to not having received the order to retreat in time. It subsequently took part in the battle of White Plains.

We have been permitted to copy an interesting letter from a soldier from this vicinity, who was probably a member of Captain Bennet's company.

NEW YORK, August 18th, 1776.

Dear Wife, I Take this opportunity to Write unto You, To Let You Know that I am Well at Present as Can be Expected: that we Traveled on Foot From Fairfield to Norwalk, From thence went on Board & Saile to New York; arrived here yesterday, and Fair well at Present: the Phenix and Rose (two British ships) with Too Tenders came Down the North River this morning, in Consequence of which a Heavy Fire injured the Ships. One Tender was Burnt Last Friday night: the shiping are Dayly Expected To attack this City, which Perhaps will Bring on as hot an Engagement as Ever was Known in America: we are Stationed in Princis Street: Brother Benjamin is well and wants For nothing, with Good Spirits. I would be glad, if Possible Some Body would Take Care of my Business. Send me a Letter as soon as you Can to Let me Know of Your welfare: my Duty to Parents & Regards to Brethren & Sisters &c.

I Subscribe my Self Your True and Loving Husband,
LEWIS FAIRCHILD.

In August, 1776, by vote of the Connecticut Legislature, the sum of £180 was ordered to be paid to Captain David Hawley, a resident of Stratfield, to raise a crew of seamen for the naval service of the United States on the lakes, for which service he was appointed captain. Captain Hawley had already distinguished himself by bringing from the West Indies, in the early part of the war, a cargo of gunpowder, which was divided between the towns of Stratford and Fairfield. A part of this powder was that which was stored in Nichols' tavern, in Stratfield.

Captain Hawley's second venture was not so fortunate. He sailed from Stratford on the 17th of March, 1776, in command of a privateer sloop, but when he had been only four days out he was captured by the British man-of-war *Bellona*, mounting six guns and eight swivels. In an account of his capture, published shortly afterwards in the *Connecticut Courant*, we find the following particulars:

"The British seamen sprung on board eager for plunder, damned Captain Hawley, his crew, and country; he with his men were taken on board the *Bellona*. About ten at night they joined the *Rose*, *Glasgow*, and *Swan*, men-of-war. He with his crew were put on board the *Rose*, and the next day sailed into Newport. Liberty was given him to get his clothes from his own sloop, but he found his chest broken open, and all his clothes stolen. They offered Captain Hawley 5s. sterling per day, a good cabin for his use, and to pay for his vessel after the war closed, also his choice of a plantation in any part of the continent, if he would act as their pilot, which he refused. In consequence of this he was parted from his men on board the *Glasgow*, without even the privilege of writing to his mate. The *Glasgow*, on the fifth of April, sailed from Newport, and after a severe action at sea, arrived at Halifax in eleven days, where Captain Hawley remained two weeks; but

on the seventh of May he, with eight others, escaped in a small boat and went to Old York."

In August he received the appointment to which reference has been made, and repaired at once to Lake Champlain. He took a prominent part in the action upon the lake between the British and American flotillas, on the 11th of October, 1776. This naval battle resulted disastrously to the Americans, owing to the superior force of the enemy, although fought with great gallantry.

IV.

A memorial signed by fifty-seven persons, residing at or near Newfield harbor, was presented to the Legislature in January, 1777. From this paper it appears that this had already become a place of resort for vessels, and that great annoyance had been occasioned by the tories of Newtown, who had repeatedly, in the night, stolen boats and vessels at anchor in the harbor, and put across to Long Island. Fears were also entertained that these marauders would return and burn the place. It was therefore requested that a guard of twenty-five men might be raised, and posted near the entrance of the harbor, to break up the illicit traffic with Long Island, and resist a landing of the enemy, in case one should be attempted. Both the memorial and the names of the fifty-seven signers appended to it, possess considerable local interest, but for want of space cannot be copied here. They may be found in Hinman's Historical Collection.

The prayer of the petitioners was granted by the Assembly, and the command of the guard was given to Lieut. Aaron Hawley, of Newfield. An order was also given him on the foundry at Salisbury, for two small cannon, fifty round shot, and a hundred weight of grape shot. The company was stationed in Stephen Burroughs' store, a small wooden building, upon the only wharf at that time in the place. Its location was near what is now the foot of State Street. Several sentinels were posted upon this wharf, with orders not to permit any boat to pass out of the harbor, if unprovided with a proper clearance. If the boat did not stop when challenged it was to be fired upon.

In May, 1778, Amos Hubbell and other residents of Newfield, petitioned the Legislature to have this guard dismissed, claiming that it was stationed in a place poorly calculated to discover the approach, or to resist an attack of the enemy, and that great uneasiness had been caused, in consequence, among the people of the place. It was therefore requested that this company might be disbanded, and a small guard posted upon the shore of the Sound, near the boundary line between Stratford and Fairfield.

This request was granted, and Lieut. Hawley ordered to dismiss his men, and turn over the public property in his charge to the Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of State troops, who was directed to detail twelve soldiers, and station them on the site of the present Seaside Park.

Probably this arrangement failed to inspire complete satisfaction, for a little later the old guard was revived, under command of Lieut. William Hall, and again took up its quarters on Burroughs' wharf. They captured many boats attempting to run out of the harbor, which, with their contents, became the property of the soldiers. One of these captures was attended with loss of life. It occurred at two o'clock on the morning of the 28th of July, 1782.

A boat attempting to run the guard was hailed by one of the sentinels, and, refusing to stop, was fired upon. Two men, named Stoddard and Judson, were killed by the shots. A third man, named Phineas Baker, was grazed by a bullet, but escaped

uninjured. He was captured, with the boat, and after the war was over, resided in Newfield.

Much alarm was excited in this vicinity by the appearance of seven British vessels, which anchored off Southport on the 5th of March, 1777. The Stratfield militia company, under Capt. Abijah Sterling and Lieut. Nathan Seeley, accompanied by the harbor guard, promptly repaired to the spot, where other detachments of troops had already assembled. Twelve or fourteen boats full of men put off from the fleet, but after a slight skirmish were repulsed, and compelled to return without effecting a landing.

About this time the parish of Stratfield was visited by the scourge of small-pox. The disease arose from infection communicated by exchanged prisoners of war, who had been landed under a flag of truce, on Stratford Point, by the British, in the preceding January. These prisoners were entertained upon their way home by Capt. John Brooks, of Stratford.

Although every precaution was taken against contagion in Capt. Brook's family, the disease spread, and quickly communicated itself to the adjoining parishes.

The horror of this complaint can scarcely be imagined by us at the present day. Vaccination, as now practiced, was unknown. Almost every dwelling was a pest house. People feared even to pass along the roads, lest they should receive the dreaded infection. The guard at the harbor forsook their posts. The number of sick at one time in the town of Stratford was estimated at 600 persons. In May, 1777, Timothy Wheeler, and twelve other residents of Stratfield, petitioned the Legislature for relief. This was followed a few weeks afterward, by another petition, signed by the Rev. Robert Ross, and twenty-one others. In this it was stated that the condition of affairs had become insupportable, and that the people were growing desperate, and even threatened to pull down the infected houses, and shoot the sufferers, if the plague could not be stayed in any other way.

By direction of the Legislature, General Silliman, of Fairfield, who was charged with the coast defense, was authorized to take the matter in hand, and by use of vigorous measures the progress of the scourge was finally stayed.

About this time a company of soldiers was raised in Stratfield, by Lieut. Josiah Lacey, and Ensign John Odell. This company was a part of Col. Philip Bradley's regiment, and Gen. Huntington's brigade.

This brigade was uniformed with red coats, captured in a British vessel by a Connecticut privateer, and it seems to have taken part in the attack upon the British troops, as they were returning to their ships after having pillaged Danbury.

Upon the twelfth of July, 1777, a new church bell was brought to Stratfield, and placed in the belfry of the Congregational meeting house. Upon the same day a woman named Ann Cables broke her arm by falling from the steeple, which circumstance would tend to prove either that the distance from the ground was not great, or that Mistress Ann's bones must have been possessed of more than ordinary elasticity to have sustained but a single fracture by such a fall. This church bell had been re-cast from the metal of the old one, purchased by the Society in 1774, and which for some cause had not proved satisfactory. Wolcot Hawley, the constable, was employed to ring the bell, at a compensation of £4 per annum. It was rung not only before the usual hours of worship upon the sabbath, and lecture days, but upon week days, at the hours of twelve o'clock noon, and nine in the evening, which was the customary time for retiring.

In July, 1779, a British fleet appeared off Fairfield, and landed

a body of soldiers, who first plundered and then burnt the town. Nearly two hundred houses were consumed, and the flames must have been plainly visible both at Stratfield and Newfield. To add to the effect of the scene a thunder storm overspread the heavens while the town was burning, and the dazzling glare of the lightning caused the flames to pale beside it. Doubtless the people of Stratfield expected their own homes to share the same fate. Governor Tryon, however, did not attempt to move any further into the country, but re-embarked his troops before a sufficient force of the Americans had collected to offer him battle.

A few months after this affair General Silliman, of Fairfield, who had command of all the troops in Fairfield County, was surprised and captured in his own house by a party of the enemy from Long Island, led by one Glover, a tory from Newtown, who had formerly been in his employ. His capture created great excitement among the people, and as it was deemed impossible to rescue him, a plan was arranged to capture some royalist who could be exchanged for him. Accordingly one evening in November, 1779, an expedition, commanded by Captain David Hawley, set out from Newfield harbor, in whale-boats, for Long Island. Besides the commander, it was composed of Captains Lockwood and Jones, Lieutenants Jackson and Bishop, and about twenty-five other volunteers. Landing on Long Island they concealed their boats in the bushes near the shore, and the next day marched to Hempstead plains, a distance of fifty miles, where they were successful in capturing Judge Jones, a noted royalist, and brought him off in safety. After a fatiguing night march, in which several of their stragglers were picked up by a British force which pursued them, they reached their boats, and crossing the sound with their prisoner, arrived at Black Rock Harbor. Judge Jones was afterwards exchanged for General Silliman.

Quite a number of prizes, mostly small craft, engaged in contraband trade, were captured in the sound by privateers during the war. On the 29th of May, 1777, Captain David Hawley brought four vessels of this description into Black Rock Harbor, and on the 9th of December, Captain Brown, of Stamford, brought into Newfield Harbor a small schooner laden with provisions which he had captured.

Captain Samuel Smedley, who commanded the brig *Defense*, the most successful vessel in the colonial navy, was a resident of Stratfield parish before the war. He was afterwards collector of customs, for many years, for the district of Fairfield. One of his prizes taken upon the ocean was the British ship *Cyrus*, mounting eighteen guns, and laden with a cargo that sold for about £20,000, one of the most valuable captures made during the whole war. At the time of the attack Captain Smedley's own vessel was in a leaky condition, and many of his crew sick with the small pox.

V.

Soon after the close of the revolution, Newfield, as that portion of the place lying contiguous to the river was called, commenced to increase rapidly in size and importance, and new streets were laid out to afford easy access to the water. Among these were State and Main Streets, Water Street and Washington Avenue having existed before the revolution. In Water Street was located all the business of the place. The open space between State and Beaver Streets, from Courtland nearly to Broad, was occupied by a large swamp overgrown with trees and underbrush. A somewhat amusing circumstance is related in connection with this swamp. Not long after the revolution, when the military spirit was still kept up among the people of the state, a muster of the militia from

the whole of Western Connecticut took place in this vicinity. Crowds of people were in attendance to witness the display. Among the attractions promised was a sham fight. The soldiery were drawn up in line along the foot of Golden Hill, near where Elm Street now runs. Suddenly a terrific whoop was heard from the swamp, and a large party of men disguised as Indians made their appearance, and with fierce demonstrations commenced an attack upon the militia. The soldiers received the onset with great gallantry, and stood their ground manfully, pouring in heavy volleys of blank cartridges upon the foe.

Among the Indians was one painted savage, who, with a fearful yell, bounded directly towards a group of spectators, whom curiosity had urged a little too near the scene. One of its members, a young girl, he grasped in his arms and, in spite of her struggles and screams, bore her away into the recesses of the thicket. Arrived there, the trembling victim who, in her fright, had expected to be tomahawked or scalped, was agreeably surprised to find that her captor was no other than her own brother. He had, unknown to her, engaged in the spectacle, and seeing her standing near, was seized with a sudden impulse to make her the victim of a severe practical joke.

In 1795 Mr. Lazarus Beach, who came to Newfield from Reading, and carried on here the business of printer, book-seller, and stationer, commenced the publication of the first newspaper. It was issued weekly, and was called the *AMERICAN TELEGRAPH*. His office was at the corner of Wall and Water Streets, opposite the old Washington Hotel. This paper probably circulated about 800 copies weekly, which were distributed by means of post-riders throughout the whole of Fairfield County.

The following are the names of such other Bridgeport papers as have fallen under our observation:

The *Bridgeport Herald*, a weekly paper, was commenced about the year 1805, by Samuel Mallory. Copies of it are now extremely scarce, much more so than those of its predecessor, the *Telegraph*, of which quite a number have been preserved.

The *Bridgeport Advertiser* was started in 1806, by Hezekiah Ripley, and was published weekly for several years, at the rate of \$1.50 per annum.

The first number of the *Republican Farmer* was issued April 25, 1810, by Mr. Stiles Nichols, who had removed from Danbury, where the paper had been published under the same name since 1803. From a copy of the first number printed in Bridgeport, which is before us, it would appear that the paper at that early day was well conducted, and edited with considerable ability. The first copy of the *Daily Farmer* was printed Jan. 1, 1850, by the late W. S. Pomeroy.

The *Connecticut Courier* was begun in 1810, by Nathaniel L. Skinner, and was continued by him for upwards of a dozen years.

Another paper, called the *Connecticut Patriot*, was commenced in 1826, by L. Bradley & Co., at their office, corner of Main and State streets, opposite the "Steamboat Hotel," afterwards the Franklin House.

A newspaper called the *Spirit of the Times*, published and edited by George W. Smith, Jr., at the corner of State and Water streets, met for a time with considerable success.

This paper was started in 1831, when public feeling ran high on the subject of Masonry, soon after the abduction of the unfortunate Morgan. It was devoted to the cause of Anti-Masonry, and for a while circulated as many as 800 copies. It was afterwards sold to Mr. John Swaine.

The *Bridgeport Republican* was owned by Edmund Fanton,

who had previously gained some notoriety as a lecturer in behalf of Anti-Masonry. Mr. Fanton disposed of his printing material to Mr. A. A. Pettengill. We have been unable to find any copies of this paper.

The *REPUBLICAN STANDARD* was commenced in the year 1839 by A. A. Pettengill, who was both editor and proprietor. In the Spring of 1848 Messrs. H. B. Wildman and J. S. Hanover were admitted to an interest in the business, under the firm name of Pettengill & Co. Upon the 12th of February, 1850, Mr. Wildman retiring, the name of the firm was changed to Pettengill & Hanover. They were succeeded in September, 1863, by Mr. John D. Candee, formerly of New Haven, and Jan. 1, 1867, the concern was organized into a company entitled the *STANDARD ASSOCIATION*, by which the business is now carried on.

The tri-weekly edition of the *STANDARD* was commenced in 1853, and continued until some time in 1854, when it was succeeded by the *DAILY STANDARD*, which has been continued uninterruptedly until the present time. The success of this favorite paper speaks well for the ability with which it has been conducted, and the circulation of both its daily and weekly editions is believed to be much larger than that of any other paper in this portion of the State, and is still increasing.

The *Bridgeport Chronicle* was commenced Sept. 9th, 1848, by B. H. Munson, at the corner of State and Water streets. It was issued weekly, at \$1 per annum, and enjoyed but a brief existence.

The same is true of the *Bridgeport Leader*, which was suspended, owing to "weakness in the chest," after fifteen numbers. It was edited by T. M. Clarke, since editor of the *Winsted Herald*, and published by the Bridgeport Printing Company. The date upon its first number is March 25, 1854.

Probably few of our readers are aware that a magazine was ever published in Bridgeport, as this place has always been more distinguished for business enterprise and commercial activity than for devotion to the muses.

In the year 1801, however, a monthly periodical, entitled the *Connecticut Magazine and Gentleman's and Lady's Museum*, was commenced here by Lazarus Beach and Sheldon Thompson, and continued for twelve months. It was the first of the kind in the State, and the copies which have been preserved evince considerable ability. It was devoted to general literature, and each number was adorned with a fairly executed steel engraving.

We are more familiar with the history of *Middlebrook's Almanac*, which, although in its sixty-sixth year, shows no marks of decrepitude, and is one of our most welcome visitors. The late Dr. Elijah Middlebrook, who resided a few miles north of this place, originated this valuable little annual, which almost deserves to be called a perennial. Dr. M. was President of the *Fairfield County Medical Association*, and his attainments, both as a mathematician and a physician, were remarkable, and are still held in remembrance by our older inhabitants.

The Borough of Bridgeport was incorporated by a special Act of the Legislature, in October, 1800. It was the first borough in the State, and the idea seems to have been suggested by Mr. Joseph Backus, of this place, who made the draft of the charter, and circulated the petition for the Act of Incorporation. The new borough still continued, however, to form a part of the town of Stratford, and the people were obliged to go to that place to vote. The principal magistrate of the borough was called a Warden, and the office was first held by Capt. Amos Hubbell.

The town of Bridgeport was set off from Stratford by an Act of the Connecticut Legislature, passed in May, 1821. The town, at that time, was reported to contain about 1,700 inhabitants, and

218 dwelling houses. There were also, within its limits, 2 flouring mills, and 73 stores and manufactories. The number of the taxable polls was 285, and the valuation of property, according to the returns made by the Assessors for that year was \$24,701.

In the year 1836, the borough, and a portion of the town of Bridgeport, were chartered as a city by the Legislature.

The following is the record of the last Borough Meeting:

"Whereas—an Act was passed by the General Assembly at the May Session of 1836, whereby the borough of Bridgeport, together with a part of the town of Bridgeport were incorporated with City privileges, and whereas a section in the said Act made null the Act whereby the Borough of Bridgeport was incorporated, on the first Monday in October 1836;

"Now I, Daniel Sterling, Warden of the Borough of Bridgeport do hereby adjourn forever this Borough Meeting.

"Dated at Bridgeport, September 30th, 1836.

"DANIEL STERLING,
"Warden."

VI.

The Bridgeport Bank was for many years the only institution of the kind in the place. Its charter was granted in 1806, and shortly afterward it commenced business in a house upon the west side of Water Street, near State, which is no longer standing. The Director's meetings were held at Ezra Gregory's tavern, on Main Street. Isaac Bronson was the first President, and George Hoyt the first Cashier. The present banking house was completed in 1810. The lot upon which it stands was originally much larger, extending northward, and embracing the site of Birdsey & Morgan's store. It was purchased a few years before the erection of the building, for the sum of \$1,000. The first officers of the Connecticut Bank, were Capt. Ezekiel Hubbell, President, and Charles Foote, Cashier. It was incorporated in 1831, and was located on the north corner of Wall and Water streets, but after the great fire of 1833, the directors purchased a lot on Main Street, and built its present edifice.

The Bridgeport Savings Bank was chartered by the Legislature in 1842, there being at the time but eight institutions of the kind in the State. Smith Tweedy was the first President, and Deacon George Sterling, who has now been connected with the Bank for nearly thirty years, the first Treasurer.

The principal public houses of the borough were four in number, and it is worthy of notice that three of them were destroyed by fire. The Steamboat Hotel, afterwards the Franklin House, on the corner of State and Main streets, where the Opera House now stands, was burned in February, 1868. Ezra Gregory's tavern, on Main Street, was consumed in the fire of 1833. The site is now occupied by the Sterling House. The Bulls Head Tavern was on the south side of State Street, between Broad and Lafayette, and remained standing until quite a recent period. The fourth was the old Washington Hotel, on the south-west corner of Wall and Water streets. On the 20th of August, 1824, during his celebrated visit to this country, General Lafayette stood upon the piazza of this hotel to receive the citizens of Bridgeport, as they were introduced to him by a committee of reception, composed of Gen. Enoch Foote, Capt. Salmon Hubbell, who had been an Ensign in the Continental Army, and others. An interesting account of the affair was published at the time in the Connecticut Courier. This public house, also, was subsequently burned.

The first Methodist minister to visit this place was the cele-

brated Jesse Lee, who preached to a small company in the house of a Mrs. Wells, on Division Street, in the summer of 1789. This house continued for many years to be the resort of itinerant preachers of the denomination. The Methodist Society afterwards worshipped in the old Congregational meeting house, on the corner of Division Street and the old road. Their present spacious edifice, on the corner of Broad and Beaver streets, was built in 1849, on the site of a former one, which was burned.

The Congregational Society removed from Stratfield to Bridgeport in 1808. Their new church, which was upon the site of the present North church, was erected by subscription, and for a while was occupied but two-thirds of the time. On the remaining Sabbaths worship was still held in the old meeting house, but this arrangement was afterwards discontinued. In 1826 a *town clock* was purchased by the borough, and by permission was placed on the Congregational Church. The first Sunday School in town was organized in connection with this society, by Mr. Platt Beardsley, about the year 1814.

In January, 1830, Deacons William Deforest, Stephen Hawley, and Josiah B. Baldwin, with 114 other members of this church, were dismissed at their own request, for the purpose of forming a new Congregational Church. They were given one-half the Church property and funds, and the old society also contributed the sum of \$2,000 towards the erection of their church edifice. This building was soon completed, and on the 30th of November, in the same year, was dedicated, Rev. Nathaniel Hewitt, D. D., the pastor elect, preaching a powerful sermon upon the occasion.

The Baptist Society, in this place, was organized in July, 1835. The church at first met for worship in a wooden building, on the site of its present edifice, (corner of State and Broad streets,) which was purchased of St. John's Episcopal Society for the sum of \$3,000. Rev. Mr. Linsley, of Stratford, supplied the pulpit for a time, but in 1838 Rev. James W. Eaton, of Boston, was settled as their first pastor.

In 1821 a map of Bridgeport, upon an extended scale, was drawn by the late Joseph Backus. This has been preserved from destruction by the care of Mr. William R. Bunnell, of the Historical Committee of the Bridgeport Library, and is now in possession of the Association. The first engraved map of Bridgeport was taken from a survey made by Mr. H. L. Barnum, and was published in 1824. Several copies of it are in existence, and there is reason to hope that before long it may be re-published, as such an interesting memento of the early days of Bridgeport deserves to be perpetuated.

The first fire known to have taken place in Newfield was upon the 8th of September, 1796. On that evening the building upon the corner of State and Water streets, occupied by the brothers David and John DeForest, as a dry goods and grocery store, was discovered to be burning. The flames were with difficulty extinguished, but not until a large portion of the goods had been destroyed. On going into the building a horrible spectacle presented itself. The clerk, a young man named Shelton Edwards, aged about fifteen years, was discovered to have been murdered by blows of a hammer upon his head, after which his throat had been cut. Contrary to the general impression that "murder will out," the perpetrators of this deed were never discovered. Two men were indeed arrested, upon suspicion, but as there was no evidence sufficient to fasten it upon them they were discharged, and the case remains a mystery to this day.

By this occurrence the attention of the people was called to the utter want of any safeguard against a conflagration, and a Fire

Department was soon organized. The money for equipping it, amounting to \$375, was collected by subscription, and in 1798 a special Act of the Legislature was obtained, authorizing the raising of an engine company. It contained twelve men, and the names of the first officers were: John S. Cannon, Foreman; William Peet, Engineer; and David Sterling, Sergeant.

The steamboat *Lafayette*, Capt. Thomas Vose, made her first trip from Derby to New York, Sept. 28, 1824, touching at Bridgeport upon the way. The appearance of the *Lafayette* in this harbor excited great enthusiasm, and was announced in the papers of the day as an event of wonderful importance.

Upon the 16th of April, 1832, the steamer *Citizen*, Capt. Brooks, commenced running from Bridgeport to New York, and in July, 1834, the *Nimrod*, Capt. John Brooks, Jr., and the *Fairfield*, Capt. Peck, were put upon the same route.

The burning of the steamer *Lexington* in the Sound, upon the 18th of January, 1840, by which so many lives were sacrificed, was visible from Bridgeport, though a better view could be obtained from Black Rock Harbor, where many people collected upon the shore, gazing with a sort of fearful fascination at the scene, though unable to render the sufferers any aid.

The *Housatonic R. R.* was incorporated in May, 1836, and was completed as far as New Milford in December, 1839. It was designed by its projectors to be the main thoroughfare between New York and Albany, but though the road has latterly been quite successful, their anticipations have never been fully realized. The New York and New Haven, and the Naugatuck Railroads commenced running trains from this place about the year 1849. The late Mr. Alfred Bishop, a resident of Bridgeport, was the contractor for building all of the above roads, and to his enterprise and public spirit, much of the prosperity of this city is due.

A few notes remain to be added respecting the Pequonnock River, the changes in its course, and the buildings which stood upon its banks.

Many years before the Revolutionary War, the parish grist mill, which was owned successively by Josiah Smith, Stephen Burroughs, and others, stood upon the Pequonnock River, nearly opposite the present reservoir. The woolen mills, which occupy about the same site, were commenced in 1827, by the late Mr. Daniel Thatcher, but in 1832 were purchased and greatly enlarged by the Pequonnock Manufacturing Company, composed of Messrs. Thomas F. and James F. Bunnell, of New York, and Dr. Thomas Fitch, of Philadelphia. The immense dam which stretches across the river at this point has several times been swept away by the resistless force of heavy spring freshets. Old residents well remember the devastation caused in 1836 and 1843 by the rushing torrent, and relate many incidents connected with these inundations. Each time the mills were seriously damaged, and the banks of the river were strewn with fragments of costly machinery, woolen fabrics, and portions of the buildings. The houses along its course were flooded, and a grist mill upon the east side of Berkshire pond was lifted from its foundations, and carried bodily down the stream. A haystack upon which a confiding hen had built her nest was borne down the tide into the Sound, whence it was towed ashore; the feathered navigator being found uninjured, though badly demoralized by the alarm occasioned by her unexpected ride. The fair and fertile meadows below the mills were totally ruined after these freshets, by the immense quantity of stones and gravel, the debris of the dam, which was deposited upon them, as may be seen at this day.

The bridge below these factories, which was constructed before

the Revolution, was the earliest one built across the river. The head of Berkshire pond, which is a little farther south, was then the principal trading and landing place for vessels, as it possessed a depth of water much greater than at present, equal in fact to that of the outer harbor. Within its bosom, concealed by the surrounding forests, privateers lay securely at anchor, hidden from the view of the enemy, who might chance to be passing up or down the Sound. Upon its shores were three ship-yards, where many vessels were constructed. The well-known Berkshire mill has been built for many years, having been enlarged and repaired by its present owner. There have been several dams across the river where the present one is now situated. The first two were built by Mr. James French, but he was compelled to remove them as obstructions to navigation, as he had obtained no charter from the legislature. The third dam was constructed during an extremely dry season, when the water at all the other mills had failed. The prudent miller this time required each customer to sign his application for a charter before he would grind his grist. In this way he finally succeeded in obtaining it. People were accustomed to bring their grain hither from all the neighboring country for miles around.

The mill on the east side of Berkshire pond was built by Gen. Enoch Foote.

The course of the river has materially changed within the past forty or fifty years. This is shown by the fact that when Capt. Daniel Sterling built his house, which is still standing on the upper part of Main Street, there was sufficient water at the foot of his garden to launch a vessel, in which he afterwards made a foreign voyage. The brig *Leopard* was also launched from a ship yard near the corner of Wall and Water streets. A little way south of Capt. Sterling's house was a pottery which stood upon the lot at the foot of Fulton Street, west of the present line of the Housatonic R. R. Vessels used to come up to this pottery and receive their cargoes, and fragments of earthen ware may still be picked up on the ground where it stood.

Still further south, near the western terminus of the New Bridge, were extensive salt-works, as shown by the map published in 1824.

Below Porter's Rocks, as the Point was called, where the Boiler Works now stand, was a wide bay, which set in nearly as far as the present site of the Atlantic House.

On the opposite side of the river was a place called "Granny's Hollow," from what *genius loci* we are lost in conjecture, where the water was quite deep, even at low tide, making it a favorite place for bathing.

Before there was any bridge across the harbor people crossed at a ferry, from a point of land near the corner of Water and Union streets. Wagons were taken over in a scow. The road on the other side followed along the shore of the point until it came to another ferry, opposite Yellow Mill.

In 1793 the old Lottery Bridge across the harbor was opened for travel. It derived its name from the fact that the money for building it was raised by means of a lottery. The privilege of collecting the tolls on this bridge was disposed of annually at auction, as appears by advertisements published in the "American Telegraphe." Its eastern extremity was near that of the present lower bridge, and some traces of the abutments which supported the western end can still be seen at low tide, under the dock a little north of the foot of Wall Street. The draw parted in the middle, and was raised by means of pulleys on either side. The bridge was not very securely built, being supported by trestle

work, and eventually lost its balance and fell into the water, thus setting a pernicious example to all succeeding bridges. The draw floated down the stream, grounding on the point now occupied by the American Silver Steel Company. The bridge was never repaired, and in 1807 its remnants were removed, and a new one, which is still standing, was constructed a little further up stream.

About the year 1850, a number of streets were opened, and public improvements commenced in East Bridgeport. Prior to that time this portion of the place had contained but a score or two of houses, and the land was either entirely unimproved, or used only for farming purposes. The advantages of East Bridgeport for manufacturing, now began to be apparent, and a number of large establishments were induced to remove their works hither. This gave a new impetus to the growth of Bridgeport, the main portion of the city benefitting as well, by the increase of population and of business.

During the twenty years which have elapsed since that time, wonderful progress has been made in every direction, and without exaggeration it may be said that, in many respects, Bridgeport is now the model city of the State.

We would gladly continue our narrative down to the present time, but the limits of this sketch have already been far exceeded.

The history of the growth of manufacturing in this place, the description of our hundreds of establishments where sewing machines, carriages, weapons of warfare, pumps, steam engines, steel, and hundreds of other articles too numerous to specify, are produced for the consumption of the world; of our public improvements, buildings, bridges, streets, gas and water works, public library, and the beautiful Seaside and Washington Park, of the new territory recently annexed, together with sketches of eminent citizens, living and deceased; all these, as well as the honorable part borne by our people in the recent great conflict for the maintenance of the Union, and the extension of freedom to the oppressed, must be deferred until another occasion.

From the Church Review,
IX, no. 1 (April, 1856), pp. 73-83.

ART. V.—IMPRISONMENT AND PETITION OF BISHOP SEABURY.

THE following curious document has never before been published. It is the Petition of the Rev. SAMUEL SEABURY, to the General Assembly of Connecticut, in December, 1775, complaining of the unjust and illegal cruelties inflicted upon him. It appears that a letter was also received by the General Assembly of Connecticut from the President of the New York Congress on the subject, which letter we have not been able to find.

That Bishop Seabury was thus imprisoned and mal-treated on account of his religion, we think admits of no question. There is certainly no breach of charity in such a supposition, when we consider the intolerance of the Puritan Laws of Connecticut, and the undeniable fact that persons were fined and imprisoned for no other crime than that of being Churchmen. Here are specimens of the Colonial Laws of Connecticut:

"This Court orders that henceforth no persons in this Jurisdiction shall in any way embody themselves into Church estate, without consent of the General Court and approbation of the neighboring Churches."—1657. (Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut. 1636-1655. p. 81.)

"This Court orders that there shall be no ministry or Church administration by the inhabitants of any plantation in this Colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to, that which is openly and publicly observed, and dispensed by the settled and approved minister of the place, except it be by approbation of the General Court and neighboring Churches."—1657. (Ib. p. 81.)

For behaving contemptuously "towards the word preached or the messengers thereof"—it was ordered—"And if a second time they break forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they shall either pay five pounds to the public treasure, or stand two hours openly upon a block or stool, four foot high,

upon a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written with capital letters, *AN OPEN AND OMBRELLATE CONFESSOR OF GOD'S HOLY ORDINANCES*.—1650. (Ib. p. 524.)

"It is ordered and decreed by this Court, and authority thereof, that whosoever the ministry of the word is established, according to the order of the Gospel throughout this jurisdiction, every person shall duly resort and attend thereto respectively upon the Lord's day, and upon such public fast days, and days of Thanksgiving, as are to be generally kept by the appointment of authority. And if any person within this jurisdiction, shall, without just and necessary cause, withdraw himself from hearing the public ministry of the word, after due means of conviction used, he shall forfeit for his absence from every such public meeting, five shillings"—(Ib. p. 524.)

For the support of this Puritan establishment, it was ordered as follows.—"And do order that those who are taught in the word, in the several plantations be called together, that every man voluntarily set down what he is willing to allow to that end and use: And if any man refuse to pay a meet proportion, that then he be rated by authority in some just and equal way; and if, after this, any man withhold or delay due payment, the civil power to be exercised as in other just debts."—(Ib. p. 524.)

How these laws should have been binding on the Rev. Mr. Seabury, who, for many years, had been, and then was, an inhabitant of another Colony, is another question.

The HON. MR. SEWARD, of the U. S. S., lately delivered a glowing eulogium upon the Early Puritans of Massachusetts, at the recent "Plymouth Rock" celebration, in which he emphatically commended them for their establishment of "Free Toleration in Religion." Mr. Seward's language is, for we would not do him an injustice: "The Puritans thus persisted and prevailed, because they had adopted one true, singular, and sublime principle of civil conduct, namely, that the subject in every State has a natural right to liberty of conscience." And again he says—and it is a strange compound of irreverence and absurdity—"The Puritans came into the world to save it from despotism; and the world comprehended them not!"

Thus far Mr. Seward. Now let us see what these Puritans in Massachusetts really meant by this "natural right to liberty of conscience." Their Laws certainly are a fair expression of their opinions and principles on this point. Here are specimens:

"It is ordered that henceforth no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of this Commonwealth." May, 1681.—(Mass. Bay Col. Laws, Ch. xlii, Sec. i.)

"It is therefore ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way, upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending, shall pay for every such offense, five shillings, as a fine to the County."—(Ib. Ch. 1, Sect. 3d.)

"This Court doth order and enact that every person or persons of the aforesaid of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended (without warrant, where no Magistrate is at hand) by any Constable, Commissioner, or Selectman, and conveyed from Constable to Constable, until they come before the next Magistrate, who shall commit the said person or persons to close prison, there to remain without bail until the next Court of Assistants; where they shall have a legal trial by a special jury, and being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."

"Every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, * * * and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions and practices, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."—(Ib. Ch. li, Sec. 9.)

The method of executing the banishment was as follows:

The Quaker was to be "directed to the Constable of the town wherein he, or she, is taken, or in absence of the Constable to any other meet person, be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and tied to a cart's tail, and whipped through the town, and from thence immediately conveyed to the Constable of the next town towards the borders of our jurisdiction, as their warrant shall direct; and so from Constable to Constable, till they be conveyed through any of the outwardmost towns of our jurisdiction."—1681. (Col. Laws, Ch. li, Sec. 10.)

We may add that this law was soon after made much more intolerable. "Any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and the second time the other; if a woman, each time to be severely whipped; and the third time, *man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron.*"—(Haliburton's Rule and Misrule, p. 102.)

Hildreth also gives an account of "the young husband of one of them, following the cart to which his wife was tied, and from time to time interposing his hat between her naked and bleeding back and the lash of the executioner!"—(Hildreth's United States, vol. i, p. 473.)

"And if after this, he or she shall return again, then to be proceeded against as incorrigible rogues and enemies to the common peace, and shall immediately

be apprehended and committed to the common gaol of the country, and at the next Court of Assistants, shall be brought to their trial, and proceeded against according to the law made Anno. 1658, for their punishment on pain of death"—(Col. Laws, Ch. li, Sec. 2.)

"It is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court, that if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresy, as denying * * * that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, * * * every such person continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall pay to the common treasurer, during the first six months, twenty shillings a month, and for the next six months, forty shillings per month, and so to continue during his obstinacy."—(Ib. Ch. li, Sec. 12.)

"It is ordered and enacted by authority of this Court, that no Jesuit, or spiritual, or ecclesiastical person, (as they are termed,) ordained by the authority of the Pope, or see of Rome, shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this jurisdiction; and if any person shall give just cause of suspicion, that he is one of such society or order, he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspicion, he shall be committed to prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tried and proceeded with, by banishment or otherwise, as the Court shall see cause.

And if any person so banished, be taken the second time within this jurisdiction, upon lawful trial and conviction, *he shall be put to death.*"—(Ib. Ch. lii.)

We cannot but be surprised that the HOW. MR. SEWARD allowed himself to give utterance to such opinions concerning the *toleration* of the Puritans. It was an easy matter for him to lend his influence to banish the Bible from the Common Schools of New York, in 1841, and so to play into the hands of a man who calls himself "Archbishop Hughes." It may be an easy matter, now, to praise the Puritans at "Plymouth Rock" for virtues which they publicly repudiated. Hutchinson says, "*Toleration was preached against as a sin in rulers*, which would bring down the judgments of Heaven upon the land." (Hutchinson, Vol. I, p. 75.) But we do think it high time that even the warmest eulogists of Puritanism, should begin to pay some little regard to historical fidelity. We do think it high time, that they who write and they who speak, of

the early history of our country, should take a broader and truer view; and remember that there was a Church of England element, as well as a Puritan element, at work in the moulding of our National Institutions—that there was a "Jamestown" in 1607, as well as a "Plymouth Rock" in 1620—that there was a GEORGE WASHINGTON, as well as a JOHN ADAMS. And, if comparisons must be drawn, we are willing to leave it to the verdict of the future to decide which of those two elements was noblest and most patriotic in its character; and which of those two men—the representatives of those two elements—really deserved to be regarded as "first in War, first in Peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Let the due meed of praise be cheerfully awarded to each. But this perpetual and overstrained self-laudation on the part of the Puritans, and their attempts to monopolize all the glory of our American Free Institutions, are as ridiculous as they are unjust.

The article in a late *Edinburgh Review* on "The Fathers of New England," is a signal proof of the change in public sentiment as to the character of those men. Twenty years ago, that Article would have been scouted all over New England. Now, it is received in silence, for everybody knows it is true. The reign of New England historical humbuggery is almost over. Mr. Seward's stale platitudes are already behind the times. His picture of Puritanism in England we may take occasion to examine hereafter.

There is still another reason why we believe that the Rev. Mr. Seabury was persecuted for the sake of his religion. The well-laid plot of the Anti-Episcopal clergy of the Colonies, previous to the Revolution, to prevent the introduction of Bishops, and so to render impossible the growth and spread of the Church in this country, may be seen in the recently printed "Minutes of the Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and the Associations of Connecticut, 1768 to 1775," a particular account of which was given in the *Church Review*, Vol. IV, for January, 1852. The issue made by these men was, "Send us Bishops, and we will raise the standard of revolt."

That Bishop Seabury was not thus persecuted in Connecticut for his *political* opinions, is certain also from the fact, that he shared those opinions with large numbers of Presbyterians and Congregationalists all over the country. Thus, in Massachusetts, in all the Eastern and most thickly settled portions of the State, *a majority of the Congregational clergy were Tories*. This

fact we have from a venerable Congregational clergyman, a distinguished historian, who has given to this point his special attention.

It is a striking event in the Providence of God, that the Rev. SAMUEL SEABURY, thus the victim of persecution in Connecticut, should have been afterwards made the first Bishop of that very State, and that his name will ever stand at the head of that long Succession of those whom God has raised, and will raise up, as leaders of His Sacramental Host in this country.

The petition, and the documents following, are copied from the MSS. State Papers of Connecticut, by CHARLES J. HOADLEY, Esq., who is connected with the State Department.

From the MSS. State Papers of Connecticut.—(Revolutionary War. Vol. I, doc. 436.)

To the Honorable General Assembly of the Gov. and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, now sitting in New Haven, in said Colony, by special order of his Honor the Governor.

The Memorial of Samuel Seabury, Clerk, A. M., Rector of the parish of West Chester, in the County of West Chester and Province of New York, humbly sheweth:

That on Wednesday, the 22d day of November last, your memorialist was seized, at a house in West Chester where he taught a Grammar School, by a company of armed men, to the number, as he supposeth, of about forty; that after being carried to his own house and being allowed time to send for his horse, he was forced away on the road to Kingbridge, but soon meeting another company of armed men they joined and proceeded to East Chester:

That a person styled Captain Lothrop ordered your memorialist to be seized. That after the two Companies joined, the command appeared to your memorialist to be in Captain Isaac Sears, and the whole number of men to be about one hundred:—That from East Chester your memorialist, in company with Jonathan Fowler, Esq., of East Chester, and Nathl. Underhills, Esq., of West Chester, was sent under a guard of about twenty armed men to Horseneck, and on the Monday following, was brought to this town and carried in triumph through a great part of it, accompanied by a large number of men on horseback and in carriages, chiefly armed. That the whole Company arranged themselves before the house of Captain Sears: That after firing two cannon and huzzaing, your memorialist was sent under a guard of four or five men to the house of Mrs. Lyman, where he has ever since been kept under guard. That during this time your memorialist hath been pre-

vented from enjoying a free intercourse with his friends; forbidden to visit some of them, though in company with his guard; prohibited from reading prayers in the Church, and in performing any part of Divine Service, though invited by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard so to do; interdicted the use of pen, ink and paper, except for the purpose of writing to his family, and then it was required that his letters should be examined and licensed before they were sent off; though on Friday last, Captain Sears condescended that your memorialist should be indulged in writing a Memorial to this Hon. Assembly. That your memorialist hath received but one letter from his family since he has been under confinement, and that was delivered to him open, though brought by the post.

Your memorialist begs leave further to represent, that he hath heard a verbal account that one of his daughters was abused and insulted by some of the people when at his house on the 22d of November. That a bayonet was thrust through her cap, and her cap thereby tore from [her] head; That the handkerchief about her neck was pierced by a bayonet, both before and behind, that a quilt in the frame on which the daughters of your memorialist were at work was so cut and pierced with bayonets as to be rendered useless; That while your memorialist was waiting for his horse on the said 22d day of November, the people obliged the wife of your memorialist to open his desk, where they examined his papers, part of the time in presence of your memorialist. That he had in a drawer in the desk three or four dollars and a few pieces of small silver, that he hath heard that only an English shilling and three or four coppers were found

in the drawers after he was brought away; That your memorialist thinks this not improbable, as Jonathan Fowler, Esq. informed him that a new beaver hat, a silver mounted horsewhip and two silver spoons, were carried off from his house on said day. Mr. Meloy, also, of this town, informed your memorialist that he, the said Meloy, had been accused by some people of pointing a bayonet at the breast of a daughter of your memorialist, desiring your memorialist to exculpate him from the charge, to which request your memorialist replied that he was not at his house but at his school house, when the affair was said to have happened, but that a daughter of your memorialist met him as he was brought from the school house, and told him that one of the men had pushed a bayonet against her breast and otherwise insulted her; and your memorialist remembers that when he left his house in the morning his daughter had a cap on, but when she met him near the school house, she had none on and her hair was hanging over her shoulders.

Your memorialist, also, begs leave further to represent that after he had been eight or ten days at Newhaven, he was carried by Mr. Jonathan Mix, to whose care he was committed, to the house of Mr. Beers, Innkeeper, in said town, where were Captain Sears, Captain Lothrop, Mr. Brown, and some others, whose names he did not know, or does not recollect; that several questions were asked him, to some of which he gave the most explicit answers, but perceiving some insidious design against him by some of the questions, he refused to answer any more. That Captain Sears then observed to him, if he understood him right, that they did not intend to release him, nor to make such a compromise with him as had been made with Judge Fowler and Mr. Underhill, but to keep him a prisoner till the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and America were settled. That whatever your memorialist might think, what they had done they would take upon themselves and support. That your memorialist then asked an explicit declaration of the charges against him, and was told that the charges against him were:

That he your memorialist had entered into a combination with six or seven others to seize Capt. Sears as he was passing through the county of West Chester, and convey him on board a man-of-war.

That your memorialist had signed a protest at the White-Plains, in the county of West Chester, against the proceedings of the Continental Congress.

That your memorialist had neglected to open his Church on the day of the Continental Fast.

And that he had written pamphlets and newspapers against the Liberties of America.

To the first and last of these charges your Memorialist pleads not guilty, and will be ready to vindicate his innocence as soon as he shall be restored to his liberty in that Province to which only he conceives himself to be amenable. He considers it a high infringement of the liberty for which the virtuous sons of America are now nobly struggling, to be carried by force out of one colony into another for the sake either of trial or imprisonment. Must he be judged by the laws of Connecticut, to which as an inhabitant of New York he owed no obedience; or by the laws of that Colony in which he has been near twenty years a resident? Or, if the regulations of Congress be attended to, must he be dragged from the Committee of his own county and from the Congress of his own Province, cut off from the intercourse of his friends, deprived of the benefit of those evidences which may be necessary for the vindication of his innocence, and judged by strangers to him, to his character, and to the circumstances of his general conduct in life?

One great grievance justly complained of by the people of America, and which they are now struggling against, is the Act of Parliament directing persons to be carried from America to England for a trial. And your Memorialist is confident that the Supreme Legislative Authority in this Colony will not permit him to be treated in a manner so destructive to that Liberty for which they are now contending. If your Memorialist is to be dealt with according to law, he conceives that the laws of Connecticut, as well as of New York, forbid the imprisonment of his person any otherwise than according to law. If he is to be judged according to the regulations of the

Congress, they have ordained the Provincial Congress of New York, or the Committee of the County of West Chester, to be his Judges. Neither the laws of either Colony, nor the regulations of the Congress, give any countenance to that mode of treatment which he has met with. But considered in either light, he conceives it must appear *unjust, cruel, arbitrary and tyrannical*.

With regard to the second charge, viz: That your Memorialist signed a Protest against the Proceedings of the Congress, he begs leave to state the fact as it really is. The General Assembly of the Province of New York, in their Sessions last winter, determined to send a Petition to the King, a Memorial to the House of Lords, and a Remonstrance to the House of Commons, upon the subject of American grievances; and the members of the House, at least many of them, as your Memorialist was informed, recommended it to their constituents to be quiet till the issue of those applications should be known. Sometime in the beginning of April, as your Memorialist thinks, the people were invited to meet at the White Plains to choose Delegates for a Provincial Congress. Many people there assembled were averse from the measure. They however, gave no other opposition to the choice of delegates than signing a Protest. This Protest your Memorialist signed in company with two members of the Assembly, and above three hundred other people. Your Memorialist had not a thought of acting against the Liberties of America. He did not conceive it to be a crime to support the measures of the Representatives of the people, measures which he then hoped, and expected, would have had a good effect by inducing a change of conduct in regard to America. More than eight months have now passed since your Memorialist signed the Protest. If his crime was of so atrocious a kind, why was he suffered to remain so long unpunished? or why should he be now singled out from more than three hundred, to endure the unexampled punishment of captivity and unlimited confinement?

The other crime alleged against your Memorialist is that he neglected to open his church on the day of the Continental Fast. To this he begs leave to answer: That he had no notice of the day appointed but from common report. That he received no order relative to said day either from any Congress or Committee. That he cannot think himself guilty of neglecting or disobeying an order of the Congress which order was never signified to him in any way. That a complaint was exhibited against your Memorialist to the Provincial Congress of New York, by Captain Sears, soon after the neglect with which he is charged; and that after the matter was fully debated, the complaint was dismissed. That he conceives it to be *unjust, cruel, arbitrary*, and in the highest degree *unjust*, after his supposed offense has been examined before the proper Tribunal, to be dragged like a felon seventy miles from home, and again impeached of the same crime. At this rate of proceeding, should he be acquitted at New Haven, he may be forced seventy miles further, and so on, without end.

Further, your Memorialist begs leave to represent: That he has a wife and six children, to whom he owes both from duty and affection, Protection, Support and Instruction; That his family in a great measure depend, under the Providence of God, upon his daily care for their daily bread; That there are several families at West Chester who depend upon his advice as a physician, to which profession he was bred; That, as a clergyman, he has the care of the towns of East and West Chester; That there is not now a clergyman of any denomination nearer than nine miles from the place of his residence, and but one within that distance without crossing the Sound; so that in his absence there is none to officiate to the people in any religious service, to visit the sick, or bury the dead.

Your Memorialist also begs leave to observe, That in order to discharge some debts which the necessity of his affairs formerly obliged him to contract, he, about a year ago, opened a Grammar School and succeeded so far as to make it worth one hundred pounds York money, for the year past; That he was in a fair way of satisfying his creditors and freeing himself from a heavy incumbrance; That he had five young gentlemen from the Island of Jamaica, one from Montreal, four children

of gentlemen now in England committed to his care, among others from New York and the country. That he apprehends his school to be broken up and his scholars dispersed, probably some of them placed at other schools, and that it may be difficult, if not impracticable, again to recover them. That, if there should be no other impediment, yet if the people of West Chester are to be liable to such treatment as your Memorialist hath lately endured, no person will be willing to trust his children there. That in this case, your Memorialist must lie entirely at the mercy of his creditors to secure him from a jail, or must part with everything he has to satisfy their just demands.

Your Memorialist thinking it his duty to use all lawful and honorable means to free himself from his present confinement, mentioned his case to the Judges of the Superior Court lately sitting in this town. Those honorable gentlemen thought it a case not proper for them to interfere in; he has, therefore, no remedy but in the interposition of the honorable House of Assembly. To them he looks for relief from the heavy hand of oppression and tyranny. He hopes, and expects, that they will dismiss him from his confinement, and grant him their protection, while he passes peaceably through the colony. He is indeed accused of breaking the rules of the Continental Congress. He thinks he can give a good account of his conduct; such as would satisfy reasonable and candid men. He is certain that nothing can be laid to his charge so repugnant to the regulations of the Congress, as the conduct of those people who in an arbitrary and hostile manner forced him from his house, and have kept him now four weeks a prisoner, without any means or prospect of relief. He has a higher opinion of the candor, justice, and equity of the honorable House of Assembly, and should they incline to inquire more minutely into the affair, he would be glad to appear at the bar of their House, and answer for himself; or, to be permitted to have Council to answer for him; or, in such way as they in their wisdom shall think best, to grant him relief. And your Memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

SAMUEL SEABURY.

Dated in New Haven, the 20th day of December, 1775.

Revolutionary War, Vol. I, doc. 437.

In the Lower House, Mr. Burr, Mr. Paine, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Canfield, Col. Fitch, and Col. Williams, are appointed a Committee to confer with such gentlemen as the Honorable Upper House shall appoint, to take into consideration the matters contained in a letter from the President of the Provincial Congress of the Province of New York, to his Honorable the Governor, dated the 12th instant, and read before this House, and to consider what is proper to be done thereon, and Report make, &c.

Test, MICHAEL LAW, Clerk.

In the Upper House, Wm. Samuel Johnson, Esq. is appointed to join the Committee of the Lower House in the affair above mentioned.

Test, GEORGE WILLIAMS, Secretary.

Doc. 438.

To the Honorable General Assembly:

We, your Honorable Committee, appointed to take into consideration the matters contained in a letter from the President of the Provincial Congress of the Province of New York, &c., beg leave to Report, that since our appointment the Rev. Mr. Seabury has presented to this Assembly a Memorial which has been read in the Lower House, and by them put into the hands of this Committee, in which he prays to be heard by himself or Council, particularly stating the matters referred to in the letter from the President of the New York Congress, so far as related to him; upon the consideration of which, we apprehend that the hearing of said Memorial will disclose those facts necessary to be known in order to give a proper answer to said letter; and to consider of the requisitions therein contained, are therefore of opinion that all parties concerned in said transaction

be heard on said Memorial, by themselves or Council, before both Houses of Assembly, which we conceive to be most expedient, and probably will give satisfaction to all parties.

Signed per order,

WILLIAM SAWYER, Johnson.

In the Lower House:

Question put, Whether the foregoing Report be accepted; and resolved in the negative.

RICHARD LAW, Clerk.

THE BOOKS GIVEN BY ELIHU YALE IN 1718

WHEN, in 1652, at the age of three, Elihu Yale left New England forever, his connection with the New World was apparently severed. After living in London through the last years of Cromwell and the Restoration, the plague, and the fire, Elihu Yale emigrated to Madras to make his fortune as a merchant. From 1687 he was Governor, for five years and four months, when he was replaced by a distant kinsman, another New Englander, Nathaniel Higginson of Guilford. Yale's dismissal was based on charges of trading frauds committed by his brother Thomas, whose side the Governor espoused, as well as further direct charges of arbitrary government, of neglect of duty, and of using the Company's funds for private speculation. He stayed in India for seven years and, when he finally returned to England in 1699 at the age of fifty-one, he was an almost fabulously wealthy man. Dividing his time between the house his father had purchased near Wrexham and his own town house in Queen's Square, Great Ormond Street, he amassed his extraordinary collections of art and curiosities.

He is first mentioned in connection with the Collegiate School of Connecticut in a letter from Jeremiah Dummer, then agent for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and later also for the Colony of Connecticut, to the Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven, one of the founders of the school.

London, 22d May, 1711

Here is Mr. Yale, formerly Governor of Fort George in the Indies who has got a prodigious estate, and now by Mr. Dixwell sends for a relation of his from Connecticut to make him his heir, having no son. He told me lately, that he intended to bestow a charity upon some college in Oxford, under certain restrictions which he mentioned. But I think he should much rather do it to your college, seeing he is a New England and I think a Connecticut man. If therefore when his kinsman comes over, you will write him a proper letter on that subject, I will take care to press it home.²

Fifteen-year-old David Yale, son of the Governor's oldest cousin, who was sent over the following year, apparently bore "the proper letter," and Dummer lived

up to his promise.

When, early in 1714, the collection of nearly seven hundred volumes collected by Dummer arrived in Saybrook, thirty-two were designated on the list as coming from Governor Yale. This was the largest number sent by any of the contributors—among whom were Sir Isaac Newton, Richard Steele, Sir Richard Blackmore, and Sir Hans Sloane—with the single exception of Dummer himself. The list is published in *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh*, New Haven, 1938, pp. 423-492.

In 1717 the school was moved to New Haven, and work was at once begun on the first college building. The trustees were utterly unable to finish so elegant a structure, and in their extremity appealed to Cotton Mather of Boston. He wrote

to Governor Yale on the fourteenth of January, 1718, as follows:

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND,
14th d. 11th month, 1717-18

Mr. — The Colony of Connecticut, having for some years had a College at Saybrook without a collegious way of living for it, have lately begun to erect a large edifice for it in the town of New Haven. The charge of that expensive building is not yet all paid, nor are there yet any funds of revenues for salaries to the Professors and instructors to the society.

Sir, though you have your felicities in your family, which I pray God continue and multiply, yet certainly, if what is forming at New Haven might wear the name of YALE COLLEGE, it would be better than a name of sons and daughters. And your munificence might easily obtain for you such a commemoration and perpetuation of your valuable name, as would indeed be much better than an Egyptian pyramid.

We have an excellent friend, our Agent, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, who has been a tender, prudent, active and useful patron of the infant College at Connecticut. . . . He will doubtless wait upon you, and propose to you, and concert with you the methods in which your benignity to New Haven may be best expressed. . . .³

This letter and Dummer's verbal attacks were at length rewarded. On June 11 there were shipped from Governor Yale, consigned to Lieutenant Governor William Toller of Boston, three bales, or trunks, of valuable goods (such as calico, Spanish poplin, muslin, and camlet) to be sold for the benefit of the college; and with these the full-length portrait of King George I by Kneller, now in the Gallery of Fine Arts; an escutcheon, representing the royal arms, which was destroyed in the Revolution, and a large box of books. The goods were ultimately sold for £562.12s., a good 200 per cent advance over the London valuation. This money was no doubt entirely used toward the new college building which is said to have cost £1,000. This was indeed the largest gift from an individual donor until 1837.

At the joyous Commencement exercises in September the new building was named Yale College and Lieutenant Governor Toller "represented Governor Yale in a speech, expressing his great satisfaction." Before separating, "the Trustees composed a profuse and painful letter of thanks,"³ the grandiloquent style of which may be explained by its being in part a version of the Rev. Mr. Davenport's

17
46-67
• d.d.

Latin oration on the Commencement stage.

The list of the four hundred and seventeen books which came at this time is here first printed, together with an identification of each book wherever possible. Unfortunately the manuscript was torn before 1800, and so the titles of twenty volumes have been lost and their donor is left unnoted in the volumes. An asterisk is placed before each title where the Elihu Yale copy still exists in the 1742 Library. Most of the others are now in the Library's collections in some edition.

D. G. W.
M. L. J.

1. Leonard Bacon: *Thirteen Historical Discourses*, New Haven, 1839, p. 159.
2. Franklin B. Dexter: *Documentary History of Yale University*, New Haven, 1916, pp. 163-4.
3. Samuel Johnson: *Some Historical Remarks Written Nov. 12, 1717*. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

A CATALOGUE OF THE BOOKS SENT BY Y^E HON^{RS} ELIHU YALE ESQR.

FOLIO

A Collection of all the Statutes in use.

*A collection of all the statutes now in use. London, 1670.

Minshæci Ductor in Linguas.

Minshæci, John. Ductor in linguas. The gride into tongves. Londini, 1617.

Annotations on the Bible.

[Ley, John] and others. Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament. London, 1651. [Or later edition.]

Heydens Cosmographie.

*Heylyn, Peter. Cosmographie . . . 2d edition. London, 1657.

Plutarchus Lives. Duplicate.

Plutarchus. The lives of the noble Grecians. London, 1579. [Or later edition.]

Dubartas Poems. Dup.

*DuBartas, Guillaume de Salluste, seigneur. Du Bartas; his divine weeks and works . . . tr. and written by . . . Iosrah Sylvester. London, 1633.

One copy only in 1742 Library.

St Amour's Journal.

*Saint Amour, Louis Gorin de. The journal of Mons^r de Saint Amour. London, 1664.

Bp Andrews Sermons. Dup.

Andrews, Lancelot, bp. of Winchester. XCVI Sermons. London, 1635.

Hist of the Athenian Society.

[Gildon, Charles.] History of the Athenian Society. London [1691].

S^r Kenelm Digby on Bodies.

*[Digby, Sir Kenelm.] Two treatises. In the one of which, the naſtre of bodies; in the other, the naſtre of mans ſovile; is looked into. Paris, 1644.

History of France Brent.

*Gualdo Priorato, Galeazzo, conte. The history of France. Written in Italian . . . The translation whereof being begun by the Right Honourable Henry, late Earl of Monmouth: was finished by William Brent. London, 1676.

Evelyn's Sylva.

*Evelyn, John. Sylva, or a discourse of forest-trees . . . 3d ed. London, 1679. His Numismata.

Evelyn, John. Numismata. London, 1697.

Grews Rarities of Gresham Colldg.

*Grew, Nehemiah. Musacum regalis societas. Or a catalogue & description of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal society and preserved at Gresham collidge. London. 1681.

Nalsons Hist. of y^e Rebellion. Dup.

Nalson, John. An impartial collection. London, 1682-83. 2 v.

Mons^r Blaize Comment.

*Montlus, Blaize de Lasseran-Massencome, seigneur de. The commentaries. London, 1674.

Robert's Mapp of Commerce.

Robert, Lewes or Lewis. The merchants map of commerce . . . 3d ed. London, 1677.

Bp Taylors Life of Christ.

Taylor, Jeremy, bp. of Down and Connor. The great exemplar. London, 1653.

D^r More's Philosophical Collections.

*More, Henry. A collection of several philosophical writings . . . 4th ed. London, 1712. Calvinis Institutions.

*Calvin, Jean. The institvion of Christian religion . . . translated into English . . . by Thomas Norton. London, 1611.

M^r Parr Works.

*Parr, Elathan. Workes . . . 3d ed. London, 1633.

Hexapla Willet on Romans.

*Willet, Andrew. Hexapla: that is, a six-fold commentatore upon the most diuine Epistle of the holy Apostle S. Pav to the Romanes. [London] 1611.

Dr Featly's Clavis Mystica.

*Featley, Daniel. Clavis mystica. London, 1636.

Dr Parry's Sum of Xian Religion.

*Uranus, Zacharias. The summe of Christian religion . . . First Englished by D. Henry Parry. London, 1633.

An Auncient Dictionary.

Hist of Roman Emperors.

*Meris, Pedro. The historie of all the Romane emperors. London, 1604.

Willets Hexapla on Genesis.

Willet, Andrew. Hexapla in Genesis. London, 1632.

Willets Hexapla in Exodus.

Willet, Andrew. Hexapla in Exodus. London, 1633.

Williams, Griffith, bp. of Ossory. The true church. London, 1629.

Dr Field of the Chh.

- Field, Richard. Of the church, five books . . . 2d ed. Oxford, 1628.
- Leigh on y^r N. Testament.

•Leigh, Edward. Annotations upon all the New Testament. London, 1650.

Mayne/Lucian made English.

Lucianus, Samotarenus. Part of Lucian made English . . . by Jasper Mayne. Oxford, 1664.

Byfield's Commentary upon Peter.

•Byfield, Nicholas. A commentary vpon the three first chapters of the first Epistle general of S^r. Peter. London, 1637.

Dr Allestry's Sermons.

Allestry, Richard. Eighteen sermons. London, 1669.

Richardsons State of Europe.

•Richardson, Gabriel. Of the state of Europe. Oxford, 1627.

A Translation of the N. Testament.

•Fville, William. The text of the New Testament. London, 1589.

Lex mercatoria.

[Jacob, Giles.] Lex mercatoria. [London] 1718.

A Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist.

•[Parker, Robert.] A scholasticall discourse against symbolizing with Antichrist. [Amsterdam] 1607.

Dr Sibbs's Sermons.

Sibbes, Richard. Sermons.

Violet's Narrative.

•Violet, Thomas. A true narrative of som remarkable proceeding. London, 1653.

Byfield's Comment upon the Colossians.

•Byfield, Nicholas. An exposition vpon the Epistle to the Colossians. London, 1628.

The Triumphs of Nassau.

The triumphs of Nassau. London, 1613.

Laws 15° Regni Caroli II.

•Anno regni Caroli II. London, 1663.

QUARTO

Dictionarium Angli-Latinum.

Ainsworth, Robert. Dictionarium Anglo-Latinum.

Riders Dictionary. Triplicate.

•Holyoke, Francis. Dictionarium cymologicum latinum . . . Lastly, Riders Dictionary . . . Now the fourth time newly corrected . . . by . . . Francis Holy-Oke. London, 1633.

i v. in 2.

One copy only in 1742 Library.

Scharpius's Cursus Theologicus.

•Sharp, John. Cviſis theologicis. Genera, 1618.

Godolphin's Orphans Legacy.

Godolphin, John. The orphans legacy. London, 1685. [Or later edition.]

An Account of Faith by T. S. DD.

[Sherman, John.] An account of faith. London, 1661.

Weemse's Works.

Wemes, John. Works. London, 1633. [Or later edition.]

Two right profitable Concordances.

[Herrey, Robert F.] Two right profitable and fruitful concordances. London [1580?]

Pierce's Decad of Caveats.

•Pierce, Thomas. A decad of caveats. London, 1679.

Maresii Hydra Socin. Expugnata. 3 Vol.

Desnarets, Samuel. Hydra socinianismi expugnata. Groningz, 1651-62. 3 v.

A Collection of Dr Pierce's Sermons.

Pierce, John. A collection of sermons.

Christianography.

•Papit, Ephraim. Christianographic. London, 1635.

Le Clerk's Harmony of y^r Evangelists.

•LeClerc, John. The harmony of the evangelists. London, 1701.

Holy Bible.

The Compleat Clerk.

H . . . , I . . . The compleat clerk. London, 1677.

Cartesius De Homine.

•DeCartes, René . . . De homine figuris et latinitate donatus a florentio schuyl. Lydgyni Batavorum, 1662.

Pastor Fido a Comedy.

[Garinini, Giovanni Bartista.] Pastor Fido. London, 1602. [Or later edition.]

Clavii in sphaeram Iohannis De Sacro Bosco.

•Clavius, Christophe. . . . In sphera Iohannis de Sacro Bosco. Genevez, 1608.

The Christian Quaker Distinguised by W. Rogers.

•Rogers, William. The Christian-Quaker, distinguished from the apostate & innovator. London, 1680.

Taylor's Davids Learning.

•Taylor, Thomas. Davids learning . . . the second time corrected. London, 1618.

Treatise of the nature of a Minister.

•[Lucy, William] bp. of St. David's. A treatise of the nature of a minister in all its offices. London, 1670.

Pynnes Players Scourge or Histriomastix.

•Rainolds, John. The summe of the conference betweene John Rainolds and John Hart. London, 1598.

The Conference between Reynolds and Hart.

•Rainolds, John. The summe of the conference betweene John Rainolds and John Hart. London, 1598.

Pynnes Players Scourge or Histriomastix.

Pynne, William. Histrio-mastix. The players scourge. London, 1633.

Daye's dooms-day.

•Day, Martin. Doomes-day: or, A treatise of the resurrection of the body. London, 1636.

Dearing's Lectures.

•Dering, Edward. XXVII lectures, or readings, vpon part of the Epistole written to the Hebrews. [London?] 1576.

Price's Defence of Truth.

•Price, Daniel. The defence of trvth against a booke falsely called the trivmph of trvth. Oxford, 1610.

An Apology for Bishops sitting in Parliament.

An apology for bishops. [London] 1641.

Culverwell's Discourse of y^e Light of nature.

*Culverwel, Nathanael. An elegant and learned discourse of the light of nature. Oxford, 1669.

Sheppard's faithful Counsellour at Law.

Sheppard, William. Faithful counsellour at law. London, 1651. [Or later edition.]

Leigh's Treatise of Divine promises.

*Leigh, Edward. A treatise of the divine promises. London, 1633.

The first part of y^e Life of Henry IV.

Hayward, Sir John. The first part of the life of Henry III. London, 1599. [Or later edition.]

Randall's 29 Lectures.

*Randall, John. Twenty nine lectures of the church. London, 1633.

Dyke's Evangelicall Historys.

*Dyke, Daniel. Six evangelical histories. London, 1617.

Wrights Passions of y^e Mind.

*Wright, Thomas. The passions of the mind. London, 1630.

Downnames Sum of Divinity.

*Downname, John. The summe of sacred diuinitie. London, n.d.

Weemse's Portrayture of y^e Image of God in man.

Weemes, John. Portrayture of the Image of God in man. London, 1627.

E. W. against praetexistence.

*W^m, E. No praetexistence. London, 1667.

King James I. Apology for y^e Oath of Allegiance.

James I. *King of Great Britain*. Apology for the oath of allegiance. London, 1609.

Sheldon's Motives for Separation from y^e Chh. of Rome.

Sheldon, Richard. The motives of R.S. London, 1612.

Felthams Duple Century of Resolves.

Feltham, Owen. Resolues. A duple century. London, 1628. [Or later edition.]

Apologie for the Gesture of Kneeling.

*Fyfbody, Thomas. A just apologie for kneeling. London, 1629.

Syms Lives preservative.

*Sym, John. Lives preservative against self-killing. London, 1637.

Harby's What is Truth.

*Harby, Thomas. What is truth? London, 1678.

Croftons Aνδρής ανδρήφθη.

*Crofton, Zachary. 'Ανδρής ανδρήφθη. The fastening of Saint Peter's fetters. London, 1660.

Ironides Questions of y^e Sabbath.

*Ironside, Gilbert. Seven questions of the Sabbath. Oxford, 1637.

Sydenham's 5 Sermons.

*Sydenham, Humphrey. Five sermons . . . 3d ed. London, 1637.

The Glory of England.

[Gainsford, Thomas.] The glory of England. London, 1618.

Bentham's Society of y^e Saints.

*Bentham, Joseph. The society of the saints. London, 1630.

Jer. Burroughs Jewel of Contentm^t.

Burroughs, Jeremiah. Rare jewel of Christian contentment. London, 1650.

Day's English Secretary.

Day, Angell. The English secretary. London, 1586. [Or later edition.]

Miscellanies Serm. Hist &c.

Froyd's Serm^m Concerning Grace. Dup.

*Froyd, Thomas. Sermons concerning grace and temptation. London, 1678.

One copy only in 1742 Library.

Montague's Appeal to Caesar.

*Montagu, Richard, bp. of Norwich. Appello Caesarum. A iust appeal. London, 1625.

George's Churches Conquest. Dup.

George, William. The churches conquest. London, 1631.

Couges Three arrows.

*Couge, William. Gods three arrows. London, 1631.

Jus divinum Ministerii evangelici.

Calamy, Edmund. Jus divinum ministerii evangelici. London, 1654.

The Examination of Wits.

Huarte de San Juan, Juan. Examen de ingenios. The examination of mens wits. London, 1604. [Or later editions.]

Heylen's Hist of y^e Sabbath.

*Heylyn, Peter. The history of the Sabbath. London, 1636.

Brington's Nature of Sin.

*Spicer, Thomas. Impartial inquiry into the nature of sin. London, 1660.

Rogers on the 39 Articles.

*Rogers, Thomas. A treatise upon sundry matters contained in the thirty nine articles of religion. London, 1639.

Valdesio's 110 Considerations.

*Valdes, Juan de. The hundred and ten considerations. Oxford, 1638.

OCTAVOS & DUODECIMO'S

Memorial of the Reformation in England.

*[Parsons, Robert] The Jesuit's memorial, for the intended reformation of England. London, 1690.

Title of original ms.: "A memorial of the reformation of England."

Playford's Tunes.

*Playford, John. The whole book of psalms. London, 1702.

Junini in Sphaeram Joh. Sac. Bos.

*Junini, Francesco. . . . Commentaria in Sphaeram Ieronis de Sacro Bosco. Lydgovi,

1578.

The Souls Ascension to God.

*Bellarmine, Roberto Francesco Romolo, Sacer. The soul's ascension to God. London, 1705.

Miscellanies various discourses.

Sweet Thoughts of Jesus & Mary.

•Care, Thomas, originally Miles Pintney. Sweete thoughts of Iesse and Marie. Paris, 1665.
Leekyn's Discourses.

Dialogue betwixt two Protestants.

Burke, John. Dialogue between two Protestants.

Report of y^e Amendm^t of Coys. Dup.

•[Leveredes, William.] A report concerning an essay for the amendment of the silver coins. London, 1665.

One copy only in 1742 Library.

An Essay on y^e balance of Trade.

•[Davenant, Charles.] An essay upon the probable methods of making a people gainers in the balance of trade . . . 2d ed. London, 1700.

The Life of Theodosius y^e Great.

Flecher, Esprit, bp. of Nimes. The life of Theodosius the Great . . . tr. Francis Manning. London, 1693.

Indiculus universalis.

Lorell, Archibald. Indiculus universalis. London, 1679.

History of K. Williams last parliam^t.

Drake, James. History of the last Parliament. London, 1702.

Georgii Entii Antididatria de usu Respirationis.

•Ent, Sir George. Antididatrib^h. Sive animadversiones in Malachiae Thrustoni, M.D. Dietribam de respirationis usu primario. Londini, 1679.

Robertsons [Hebrew] Heb. Psalter.

•Sopher Tehillim u-sopher Echah. The Hebrew text of the Psalms and Lamentations . . . by William Robertson. London, 1656.

Livesey's Enchiridium Judicum.

Livesey, John. Enchiridion judicum. London, 1657.

Keach's Jewish Sabbath abrogated.

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Pembeli de Sensibus interim & origine formarum.

*Pembel, William. *De formarum origine. Londini, 1619. [Bound with his De sensibus intermis . . . ed. posthuma, Oronia, 1629.]*

N. Testamentum Latinum.



Additional FORM of PRAYER for Wednesday, the Ninth of October, 1793.

INTRODUCTORY SENTENCES.

St. Luke xv. 15—18. I will arise, and go to my Father, &c.

Dan. ix. 9, 10. To the Lord our God belong mercies, &c.

Lam. iii. 22. It is of the Lord's mercies, that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not:—they are new unto us every morning:—great is his faithfulness.

Proper Psalms, 90 and 91.

1st pr. Lesson, Job xiv. to v. 16; then the 130th Psalm.

2d pr. Lesson, St. John xi. v. 21 to v. 44.

Instead of the Collect for the day,

○ Saviour of the world, who by thy cross, &c. *Visit. of the Sick.*

ALMIGHTY God, and most merciful Father! Creator of our bodies, preserver of our spirits! "in whom we live, and move, and have our being," "look down from heaven, the habitation of thy glory, open thine ears, and hear the supplication and prayer" which thy servants, here assembled, make in behalf of our sick and afflicted brethren, now groaning under the weight of thy chastisements. There is mercy with thee, O Lord! that thou mayest be feared; and it is because thy compassions fail not, that we are still in the land of the living, and in the place of hope. That undeserved mercy and forbearance which thou vouchsafest to us, we supplicate for our sick and disconsolate brethren. Look upon them, O Lord! with the light of thy reconciled countenance, and be not angry with them forever. O, for the sake of thy Son Jesus, who came to bear our sorrows and heal our sicknesses, accept their tears, listen to their cries, bless the means used for their recovery and health,

and command the destroying angel to sheath his sword. Turn thee again, O Lord! and be gracious unto thy servants; comfort them with thy love and favour; "shew them thy works" of mercy, and "their children thy glory."—And whilst we implore thy mercy for them, we desire to present our unfeigned thanks, for thy most gracious providence and protection vouchsafed to ourselves; and may thy tender mercy and loving kindness accompany us all the days of our lives. Gracious God, preserve us from untimely death; keep us from sin, defend us in every danger, and enable us, by the co-operations of thy holy Spirit, to praise thee by our lives, to glorify thee at the hour of our death, and so to be numbered with the saints of the Most High, in glory everlasting. All we beg is for the sake and through the merits and intercession of thine adorable Son, and our most gracious and prevailing Mediator, Christ Jesus. Amen.

After the general thanksgiving,
The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower, &c. *Visit. of the Sick.*

New England Anglicanism: A Genteel Faith?

Bruce E. Steiner*

THE word "Anglican," when mentioned in the context of eighteenth-century New England, connotes a rather definite group of associations. To the historian it means wealth; it means an urban setting, lavish living, merchants, aristocracy. This configuration is not the product of detailed investigations of economic or social status. It results instead from brief—but, given the construction of the writer's argument, important—accounts in such studies as Carl Bridenbaugh's major works, John C. Miller's explanation of the origins of the Anglo-American conflict, and Alan Heimert's interpretation of New England's post-Great Awakening religious structure.¹ It is fostered, too, by textbooks and by the casual comments of other scholars.² Is it an accurate picture? Does the label "genteel" adequately characterize a religious body grown by the era of the Revolution to 25,000 persons³ and 74

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¹Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (New York, 1938), 259, 263, 419-420; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (New York, 1955), 139, 152-154, 355; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mine and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faith, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1680-1775* (New York, 1962), 212-214; John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1943), 192-197; Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 51, 170-171, 255, 362-364.

²Oscar T. Barck, Jr., and Hugh T. Lefter, *Colonial America* (New York, 1958), 384-385; H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929), 146-147; Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, X (New York, 1961), 23; William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Oxford, 1961), 13; Charles W. Akers, *Called Unto Liberty: a Life of Jonathan Mayhew, 1720-1766* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 60, 82, 168-169, 178, 181.

³For a discussion of the data upon which this estimate is based, see Bruce E. Steiner's *Samuel Seabury and the Forging of the High Church Tradition: a Study in the Evolution of New England Churchmanship 1722-1796* (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1962), I, 72-74.

functioning congregations? Answers to these questions must be based on a combination of literary and statistical evidence.

Anglican churches in seaboard urban centers form a natural grouping and a convenient starting point: it was in a port town, at Boston in 1686, that organized Anglicanism began in New England. Boston's eighteenth-century churchmen did include many men in comfortable circumstances and some men of wealth. Such were the proprietors of Trinity Church, the members of which reportedly paid one-fifth of the town's poor rate in 1748, or of King's Chapel, whose rector noted in 1762 that Anglicans—less than one-quarter of Boston's population—held one-third of its taxable property.⁴ The 1771 tax assessment list confirms these assertions of large holdings. Whereas 30 per cent of all owners of Boston real estate had properties worth more than £30 a year, 66 per cent of King's Chapel proprietors who were property owners fell in this category, as did every officer of Trinity who appears on the tax list.⁵ That list and other records, notably those of the Loyalist Claims Commission, likewise indicate the mercantile origins of much of this wealth.⁶ Yet, arguing against any thesis that Anglicanism was *the* religion of fashion in Boston is the fact that just four members of the Brattle Street Church, which in 1772 erected an edifice as magnificent and costly as King's Chapel,⁷ held over £41,000 of the £104,000 that Bostonians had at interest in 1771 as compared to less than £3000 loaned by all the Chapel's Boston proprietors.⁸ Or, again, to shift the compari-

⁴ Sir Harry Frankland to an unnamed uncle, Dec. 13, 1748, in William S. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, III (Hartford, Conn., 1873), 424; Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles* (New Haven, 1916), 100-101; and Henry Caner to Thomas Secker, Dec. 23, 1762, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 487.

⁵ Henry W. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, II (Boston, 1866), 321-329; Jeffrey W. Brackett et al., *Trinity Church in the City of Boston, 1733-1933* (Boston, 1933), 203-204; see Boston tax assessment list of 1771, Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston. About 80% of this list, which is arranged according to Boston's 12 wards, is extant; the missing sheets include all the entries for ward 11 and some entries for wards 3, 7, and 12.

⁶ E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions, and Claims* (London, 1930), 5-6, 12-17, 41-45, 55-56, 105, 117-118, 130-135, 159-160, 167, 179-181, 187-191, 212, 238, 270, 279-280, 283-285.

⁷ Foote, *Annals*, 116, 341; Samuel G. Drake, *The History and Antiquities of Boston from its Settlement in 1630, to the Year 1770* (Boston, 1856), 520n.

⁸ Boston tax assessment list of 1771, Mass. Archives. The four members of the Brattle Street Church were John Hancock with £11,000 at interest; his aunt, Madam Lydia Hancock, with £10,000; John Erving, Sr., with £15,000; and James Bowdoin,

son to Trinity: the collections for sufferers from the great fire of 1760 yielded £3500 old tenor at Brattle Street, while Trinity Church, with a congregation of about the same size and somewhat more remote from the flames, produced little more than £1000.⁹

Clearly, then, the merchants of King's Chapel and Trinity did not occupy a social and economic eminence by themselves; indeed, it seems quite possible that the largest and most secure Boston fortunes were to be found elsewhere. Moreover, King's Chapel, if not Trinity, had a sizeable group of people of a low economic status. Between Easter 1756 and Easter 1757 the parish expended £400 old tenor on its poor; regular accounts of money paid to poor parishioners survive from this date to the Revolution.¹⁰ Finally, when assessing the overall status of Boston's churchmen, one must consider the case of Christ Church in the shabby North End district, whose congregation, except for the fact that it was urban, consistently violates the genteel stereotype. Almost from the date of its opening in 1723 there were complaints of this church's comparative poverty.¹¹ In this case, too, the tax assessment list of 1771 supports the literary evidence. Of Christ Church proprietors with real estate only 15 per cent—as compared with the figure of 30 per cent given earlier for all owners of Boston real estate—had properties valued at more than £30 a year.¹² The proprietors on the list break down by occupation as seven traders of small to middling rank, some of them mere shopkeepers; five sea captains; a tidewaiter in the customs; a physician, a distiller, and

Erving's son-in-law, with £5120. For their Brattle Street connections, see Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933.), XI, 195, 201-202, 518-519, XII, 152; Ellis L. Motte *et al.*, eds., *The Manjestic Church. Records of the Church in Brattle Square, 1699-1872* (Boston, 1902), *folding plate*, opposite p. 40, of the meetinghouses' ground plan and list of proprietors, ca. 1773.

¹⁰ Foote, *Annals*, 184. See also, Caner to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Secretary, July 18, 1775, Henry Caner Letter Book (copy), Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut, Hartford, Conn.; Caner to the S. P. G. Secretary, Jan. 14, 1776, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 584.

¹¹ David Dunbar to Edmund Gibson, Dec. 11, 1729, Fulham Palace Manuscripts, Massachusetts, Box 2, No. 80 (copy), Library of Congress; Caner to Richard Terrick, Feb. 3, 1766, Caner Letter Book; Francis Shaw and Thomas Ivers to the S. P. G. Secretary, Jan. 29, 1767, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 528-529.

¹² The most complete list of Christ Church proprietors for this period is one dated 1774, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Manuscript, B 22, no. 97. This manuscript and all other S. P. G. collections hereafter cited are copies in the Library of Congress.

a tavernkeeper; many artisans—a tailor, a silversmith, a carpenter, a housewright, a brazier, a cabinetmaker, a blacksmith, an oarmaker, and a painter; and also five men whose precise occupations are not determined but who seem to have been artisans or mariners.¹³ And this was the elite of a congregation whose rank and file included great numbers of common sailors.¹⁴

In the other Massachusetts seaports the situation more closely resembled that of Christ Church than of King's Chapel or Trinity. "Large but many of them poor and illiterate" was a typical description of St. Michael's, Marblehead.¹⁵ Its usual vestryman of the years 1767 to 1775 was the middle-class captain of a fishing vessel, a man who owned his own seven-man schooner, his house, and another dwelling.¹⁶ "Some of the young people of the best families in the Town"—almost all Congregationalist—did attend St. Michael's during that period; this fact, plus the actual conversion of one such person, encouraged the rector to report in 1770 that his church "bids fair to make the richest and most respectable congregation in the Town."¹⁷ For the time being, however, the lower-class element dominated: two-thirds, possibly three-fourths, of the men whose children were baptized in 1771 and who appear on the fragmentary assessment list of that year had no taxable property of any sort.¹⁸

¹³ This list is derived from the data of the assessment list and from a variety of other sources, including four volumes of the Boston Registry Department, *Records Relating to the Early History of Boston* (Boston, 1876-1909), X, XIX, XX, and XXIX; and also "Assessors' Taking Books" of the Twelve Wards of the Town of Boston, 1780, in *The Bostonian Society Publications*, IX (1912), 9-59.

¹⁴ Timothy Cutler to the S. P. G. Secretary, Nov. 28, 1766, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 205; Caner to Terrick, Feb. 3, 1766 (draft), Caner Letter Book.

¹⁵ Joshua W. Weeks to the S. P. G. Secretary, June 21, 1765, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 517. See also, William Shaw to the S. P. G. Secretary, Jan. 13, 1715/16, *ibid.*, 117; answers of David Mossom to queries of the Bishop of London, 1724, *ibid.*, 149-150; George Pigot to the S. P. G. Secretary, May 7, 1736, *ibid.*, 314; wardens and vestrymen of St. Michael's, Marblehead, to the S. P. G. Secretary, Dec. 5, 1749, S. P. G. MS. B 17, no. 78; Ebenezer Miller to the S. P. G. Secretary, Oct. 16, 1751, S. P. G. MS. B 19, no. 26.

¹⁶ Marblehead tax assessment list of 1771, Mass. Archives; Records of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead (copy), I, 77, 86, 99, 100, 112, 122, 131-132, 139-149, 147-148, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

¹⁷ William McGilchrist to the S. P. G. Secretary, June 27, 1769, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 547; Joshua W. Weeks to the S. P. G. Secretary, Apr. 2, 1770, *ibid.*, 549. The convert was Joseph Hooper, son of "King" Robert Hooper; for Joseph Hooper, see Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 165-166.

¹⁸

The baptisms are in Records of St. Michael's, Marblehead, III, 76-77. The extant



At nearby St. Peter's, Salem, the typical churchman was also of the lower class. At least twenty-nine of forty-six men who signed a subscription for a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary's salary in 1736 and who appear on a tax list of that year belonged in this category.¹⁹ Literary evidence reinforces the statistical: in 1743 one S. P. G. correspondent noted that of fifty families adhering to the church, sixteen were "its chief support, the rest thro' their poverty (however willing) being unable to yield any assistance."²⁰ The proprietors of pews—always the most substantial group in any congregation—were characterized in 1747 as "neither numerous nor wealthy."²¹ By 1772 they were numerous,²² but real wealth was represented at St. Peter's only by the port's collector and a Harvard-educated lawyer.²³ None of Salem's principal merchants was a proprietor, and while there were many middle-class owners of pews, half the proprietors—on the evidence of Salem's tax lists of 1770 and 1771—were men in poor circumstances.²⁴

Sheets of the 1771 tax assessment list include the entries of 19 of the 38 men whose children were baptized in that year. In a few cases 2 or 3 men of the same name appear on the assessment list; the uncertainty as to the proportion of propertyless fathers results from an inability to determine which persons in these instances were the men mentioned in the list of baptisms.

¹⁹ Harriet S. Tapley, "St. Peter's Church in Salem before the Revolution," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXX (1944), 246; Salem county levy of 1736 in the Salem tax lists, 1734-1741 (copy), B560-B5615, Essex Institute. A tax of £1 is taken as the dividing line between the lower and middle classes, this sum being two and one-half times that paid by a ratable poll with no taxable property.

²⁰ Charles Brockwell to the S. P. G. Secretary, Mar. 25, 1743, S. P. G. MS., B 11, no. 61.

²¹ William McGilchrist to the S. P. G. Secretary, Apr. 22, 1747, S. P. G. MS., B 15, no. 12.

²² See Salem tax list of 1770 and the Salem tax assessment list of 1771, Mass. Archives. The leaders of Salem's mercantile community were Francis Cabot and Benjamin Pickman—both active in the founding of the North Church—and Richard Derby. They had, respectively, £6,500, £4,100, and £6,020 in trading stock; £450, £83, and £147, and £159 per annum; and in the 1770 list, personal estate and faculty of £638, £580, and £757. David Britton, the wealthiest merchant among St. Peter's proprietors, had £1,180 in trading

stock;

real estate worth £20 a year; and, in 1770, personal estate and faculty of £130. Persons having £30 or less in personal estate and faculty in 1770 are considered members of Salem's large lower class; 10 of the 51 St. Peter's proprietors appearing on the tax list had no taxable personal estate and but £10 in faculty, the lowest figure the assessors assigned an able-bodied man.

²³ See "A list of Masters of Vainlys of Portsmouth in his Majests: Province of New hampshire in New England who has signified their Desire of Joining the Church of England," S. P. G. MS., A 25, no. 166-167; Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, V, 156-166, VI, 113-133, 221-231, 240-242, 328-339, 341-342, VII, 278-279, VIII, 634; Portsmouth province levy of 1724, Early Portsmouth Town Records (copy), XV, 302-322, New Hampshire State Library, Concord.

²⁴ Mather Byles, Jr., to the S. P. G. Secretary, June 14, 1774, S. P. G. MS., B 22, no. 89.

²⁵ Defined as those persons who paid a province tax of 8/- or less; the largest Portsmouth taxpayers paid £2.5. In 1741 Capt. Christopher Rynes bequeathed £20 currency to the poor of Queen's Chapel; another of the Chapel founders, Theodore Atkinson, dying in 1779, left £200 sterling, the interest to be laid out in bread to be distributed each Sabbath to unpreserved members. Nathaniel Bouton *et al.*, eds., *Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New Hampshire* (Concord, N. H., 1867-1943), XXXIII, 29; Timothy Alden, "An Account of the Several Religious Societies in Portsmouth, New-Hampshire from Their Establishment," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collection*, 1st Ser., X (1809), 59.

²⁶ The brothers Samuel and Francis Waldo, for whom see Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, XI, 322-325, XII, 214-218; Jones, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 285-286.

²⁷ St. Paul's tax list of 1771, St. Paul's Episcopal Church Record Book, 1764-1791 (unpaged), Maine Historical Society, Portland. The individuals classified as poor

To the east, Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, and St. Paul's, Falmouth, boasted a larger proportion of local wealth and in the former instance, where that wealth was joined to political power, a definite aristocracy. Among the 73 founders of Queen's Chapel in 1734 were New Hampshire's lieutenant governor, 6 members of the Council, 8 Harvard graduates, and a third of the small group—made up of 6 per cent of Portsmouth's taxpayers—whose rate bill ran as high as a pound.²⁵ The presence of this element was a matter of frequent comment. In 1774, for example, the rector of Christ Church, Boston, wrote that the Portsmouth congregation, though smaller than his own, was "much genteeler, and more opulent."²⁶ The prosperous, however, did not occupy all the seats of Queen's Chapel. The tax list locates a full third of its founders in the port's large lower class.²⁷ As for St. Paul's, Falmouth, while its original members of 1705 included 2 men who were probably the richest in Maine,²⁸ there was, nevertheless, ample reason for the generous bequest which one of them made to its poor: of 105 adult male worshippers in 1771, at least 46, on the evidence of the church's tax list, were persons of limited means.²⁹

The congregations of the southern New England ports present much the same picture as those of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, that is, an occasional wealthy parish among a larger number of less affluent ones. In Rhode Island wealth was represented by Trinity Church, Newport, whose members fitted the Anglican stereotype perfectly. In 1750, when Newport had 7 churches of 4 denominations, the men of Trinity furnished 32 of the 72 signers of a merchants' petition.³⁰ Ten years later, although comprising only 17 per cent of the town's taxpayers, they made up 45 per cent of the small elite who owned half its taxable property. Heavily overrepresented also among the upper middle class, the congregation included almost no families from the lowest echelon of Newport society.³¹ In the other Rhode Island ports, however, the balance tipped in the other direction. Attending St. Michael's, Bristol, in 1762 were three of the town's seven wealthy men; on the other hand, the church's proportion of the upper middle class was considerably smaller than its proportion of the total population and its share of the poorer inhabitants much larger. Whereas 55 per cent of the other taxpaying families (mainly Congregationalists) paid a tax larger than a pound, only 41 per cent of the Anglicans did so.³² Evidence that includes a 1760 tax list indicates a similar pattern at King's Church, Providence.³³

are those who were relieved of any tax or who paid between 1/ and 8/. Help in interpreting the church's tax structure (the tax was a levy voluntarily submitted to in order to raise part of the rector's salary) is provided by the notice of its members in an "Account of Losses sustained at Falmouth, in October 1775," William Willis *et al.*, eds., *Documentary History of the State of Maine* (Portland, Me., 1869-1916), XIV, 305-310.

³⁰ "A List of the Adult males belonging to Newport Church [1750]," S. P. G. MS., B 18, no. 57-58; "Petition to the King, relative to bills of credit," Sept. 4, 1750, John R. Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1850-1865), V, 311-313.

³¹ "Families of Chh. of England, Newport Janry. 10, 1760," in Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Ezra Stiles*, 15-17; Newport tax list of 1760, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Providence. The elite—10% of the taxpayers—paid a tax of £10 or more; the upper middle class includes those who paid a tax of more than £2 but less than £10.

³² "Families Attending Chh. in Bristol, Janry. 5, 1762" and "Families in Bristol Janry. 1, 1762," in Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Ezra Stiles*, 32-33; Bristol tax list of 1760, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Providence. The wealthy elite and the upper middle class are defined as at Newport; the 1760 tax lists of both towns represent their portions of the colony levy authorized by the June Assembly of that year.

³³ Providence tax list of 1760, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Providence; John Graves to the S. P. G. Secretary, Mar. 5, 1760, S. P. G. Journals, 1635-1782.

In Connecticut, too, despite the presence of a few wealthy men, the seaport churches consisted mainly of persons of modest rank and fortune. John Still Winthrop, possessor of the proudest name and greatest house in the colony, was a member of St. James's, New London, in 1759; so was a wealthy Irish merchant; so were men of the lower class, some 41 per cent of the congregation.³⁴ A survey of the families of Trinity Church, New Haven, in 1762 yields a merchant, two customs officials, two shop-keepers, ten artisans, eight sea captains, a waggoner, two men who were probably laborers, three obscure widows, and six other men, artisans or mariners.³⁵ What the probate and land records reveal of the group's economic status amply documents the rector's assertion of 1763 that more than half his people were "in low circumstances."³⁶ The composition of Christ Church, Norwich Landing, in the 1770's was identical: "mostly Shop-Keepers, Seafairing Men, Mechanics, and Tradesmen, with some few Merchants."³⁷ Complaints that "those who conform in this Town,

XIV, 306; vote of the congregation of King's Church, Providence, Nov. 5, 1760, S. P. G. MS., B 22, no. 104.
³⁴ Samuel J. McCormick, ed., *The Rev. Samuel Peters' LL. D. General History of Connecticut* (New York, 1877), 121; Judson P. Wood, ed., *The New Democracy in America. Travels of Francisco de Miranda 1783-1784* (Norman, 1963), 123; *New-London Summary, or the Weekly Advertiser*, Aug. 3, 1759; New London country levy of 1759, New London County Historical Society, New London; Records of St. James's Church, New London, 1725-1874, I, 37-50, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, from which the list of members is compiled. In interpreting New London's county levy and the Connecticut grand lists hereafter cited, Grant's definition of the lower class as persons with lists of £1-£2 is utilized. See Charles S. Grant, *Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent* (New York, 1961), 95-96, for his discussion of the economic class structure—lower, lower middle, and upper middle—characteristic of most Connecticut towns which, unlike New London, had no really wealthy inhabitants.

³⁵ "Episco. Families with Compact Part of N. Haven [1762]," in Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Ezra Stiles*, 49-50. The list of occupations is derived from the probate materials cited in n. 36 and from a miscellany of such sources as the following: New Haven *Connecticut Gazette*, 1756-1762; the Wadsworth map of New Haven of 1748, reproduced by the New Haven Colony Historical Society; Penrose R. Hoopes, *Connecticut Clockmakers of the Eighteenth Century* (Hartford, 1930), 70-73; American Loyalists: Transcript of the Manuscript Books and Papers of the Commission of Enquiry, XII, 1742-1742; 357-362, New York Public Library.

³⁶ File Papers of the New Haven Probate District, and New Haven Register of Deeds, XI-LIV (copies), Connecticut State Library; Solomon Palmer to the S. P. G. Secretary, July 26, 1763, in Francis L. Hawks and William S. Perry, eds., *Dictionary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York, 1865-1864), II, 42.

³⁷ John Tyler to the S. P. G. Secretary, Oct. 3, 1782, S. P. G. MS., Connecticut

are too commonly of the Poorer Sort" find confirmation in a 1751 tax list which shows that two-thirds of the Anglicans at the Landing were of the lower class.³⁸

The eleven congregations considered thus far, plus Christ Church, Middletown, and St. Paul's, Newburyport, were the only ones in urban locations. Urban churches, then, numbered only thirteen in the total of seventy-four. While they tended to be larger, they still included only a third of New England's Anglican population.³⁹ Urban churchmen were thus in the minority, and that minority, if the foregoing analysis is correct, cannot be characterized as exclusively a mercantile elite. If a few congregations contained a considerable number of wealthy gentlemen, there was a large body of poor men in almost all of them.

The two out of three New England Anglicans who lived in rural areas in 1774 were for the most part inhabitants of Connecticut and by contemporary descriptions were generally farmers.⁴⁰ Artisans, together with an occasional physician, lawyer, shopkeeper, or merchant, made up the remainder.⁴¹ In terms of the occupations of their members, these rural churches were of two sorts: those in the villages, where the artisan element was strong, and those isolated in the countryside and consisting chiefly of farmers. Stratford, where in 1707 organized Anglicanism first appeared in Connecticut, supplies examples of both types. Christ Church, the original congregation, situated in Stratford village, was early described as composed for the most part of "poor tradesmen."⁴² Probate inventories, extant for thirty-three of its adult members buried between 1725 and 1774, reveal that two-thirds of this group were in non-agricultural occupations and also support the claim of their relative poverty. Sixty per cent of the estates inventoried had a value of less than £200 sterling; indeed, more than a third came to less than £100. Only three

³⁸ Tyler to the S. P. G. Secretary, May 5, 1772, S. P. G. MS., B 22, no. 233; Chelsea Society's grand list of 1751 and the lists of Anglicans living in the Society in that year, Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1st Ser., VIII, docs. 352-353, Connecticut Archives, Connecticut State Library.

³⁹ This estimate is based upon the sources cited in Steiner's Samuel Seabury, I, 72-74, and upon the reports of the S. P. G. missionaries in the 1760's and early 1770's, most of which are in S. P. G. MS., B 22, and B 23.

⁴⁰ See McCormick, ed., *Peters' General History of Connecticut*, 169; Tyler to the S. P. G. Secretary, Oct. 3, 1782, S. P. G. MS., Conn., Phots.

⁴¹ This pattern emerges from a study of the Anglican faculty—or, for the post-Revolutionary period, assessment—entries in the grand lists cited in n. 53, 55, 56, and 58.

⁴² Samuel Johnson to the S. P. G. Secretary, June 2, 1731, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History*, I, 146.

men had real and personal property worth as much as £1000, and none of the three was really wealthy.⁴³ A notation of Ezra Stiles underlines the fact that the families of Christ Church did not constitute a local elite. Stiles found that although Christ Church in 1768 included 31 per cent of the population residing within the limits of the First Society, the Anglicans possessed "above a Quarter and not a Third of the [grand] List."⁴⁴

A few miles inland, in Stratford's agricultural section of Ripton, the pattern was somewhat different. Probate inventories survive for twelve of the fifteen adult males whose burials are recorded in the register of St. Paul's, Ripton, between 1756 and 1775. Only one of these individuals left less than £200 sterling; still, half of the total number, possessing estates valued at between £274 and £348, also were small property owners. St. Paul's did include two men of wealth with estates as large as those of many a King's Chapel proprietor. Wealth in rural Connecticut did not, however, necessarily imply genteel living. Farmers like their small-property owning brethren, these men had almost no luxury goods. Wealth for them meant additional acres.⁴⁵

The correspondence of the S. P. G. contains many references to the economic status of such village and country congregations. Until 1785 the Society was their financial mainstay, furnishing most of the support of all but one rural rector throughout New England. The letters and petitions that these clergymen forwarded to London occasionally depicted a church as having a reasonably affluent membership. Thus Edward Winslow described the membership of St. Paul's, Wallingford, in 1760 as consisting of "a very considerable number of substantial persons," while in 1772 he characterized the small Bridgewater congregation as "of good repute, and in comfortable circumstances."⁴⁶ More typical

⁴³ Register of burials 1725-1774, Records of Christ Church, Stratford, Conn., 1722-1932 (copy), I, 40-42, 125-129; and File Papers of the Fairstield Probate District, Connecticut State Library. These inventory totals—as is the case with those cited in n. 45—are restatements of the original figures, which were given in old tenor or, later, in lawful money.

⁴⁴ Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Ezra Stiles*, 268-269.

⁴⁵ Register of burials 1756-1775, Records of St. Paul's Church, Shelton (Ripton), Conn., 1755-1907 (copy), II, 159-151, Connecticut State Library; and File Papers of the Fairstield Probate District. The wealthy individuals were Joseph Blackleach (d. 1756) with an estate of £3640 sterlins³, including more than 1800 acres, and Samuel Shelton (d. 1775), with about 2000 acres and a total estate of £3846 sterlins.

⁴⁶ Edward Winslow to the S. P. G. Secretary, Jan. 2, 1760, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History*, II, 5; Winslow to the S. P. G. Secretary, July 1, 1772, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 564.

of Connecticut churches, however, were such reports as the following: Greenwich and Stamford (1751), "many whose circumstances Are So Indigent that I Am Obliged to Remit their Taxes"; Fairfield (1738), "generally poor"; Norwalk (1762), "many poor people"; Redding and Newtown (1749), "My parishioners are poor"; Ridgefield (1744), "generally of small Estates"; Derby and Oxford (1762), "not a few of them under low circumstances"; Simsbury (1768), "the greater part of my people are very indigent"; Litchfield (1747), "our abilities . . . we confess are small"; Guilford, North Guilford, and Killingworth (1767), "generally poor"; and, finally, Waterbury, Westbury, New Cambridge, and Northbury (1773), "many of them, poor."⁴⁷ In Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Maine the story was the same: Narragansett and Warwick (1747), "the greatest Part . . . are Poor"; Taunton (1766), "low in the World"; Scituate (1738), "most of us are poor and low"; Dedham and Stoughton (1769), "Generally poor"; Braintree (1774), "most of them but in slender circumstances"; Pownalborough (1761), "very poor"; Georgetown (1771), "in general, very poor"; and Gardinerstown (1773), "chiefly very poor."⁴⁸

Although it is true that the persons making these statements were intent upon convincing the S. P. G. that they were worthy objects of its bounty, there is no reason to suppose that they misrepresented the situation. If such had been the case, if the rural congregations had, in fact, been in a condition to support their pastors, surely Congregational critics of the Society's expenditures in New England would have constantly emphasized this point. They did not do so—indeed, Ezra Stiles,

⁴⁷ Letters and petitions all addressed to the S. P. G. Secretary: Ebenezer Dibble, Apr. 2, 1751, S. P. G. MS, B 19, no. 35; Caner, Nov. 22, 1738, Caner Letter Book; Jeremiah Leaming, Nov. 29, 1762, S. P. G. MS, B 23, no. 240; John Beach, Apr. 1, 1749, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History*, I, 253; Ridgefield Anglicans, Mar. 28, 1744, S. P. G. MS, B 13, pp. 339-340; Richard Mansfield, Dec. 9, 1762, S. P. G. MS, B 23, no. 266; Roger Viets, June 25, 1768, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History*, II, 125; Litchfield Anglicans, Apr. 7, 1747, S. P. G. MS, B 15, nos. 7-8; Bela Hubbard, Jan. 30, 1767, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History*, II, 107; James Scovil, June 1, 1773, S. P. G. MS, B 23, no. 349.

⁴⁸ Letters and petitions addressed to the S. P. G. Secretary: James MacSparran, Feb. 25, 1746/47, S. P. G. MS, B 14, no. 35; John Lyons, July 3, 1766, S. P. G. MS, B 22, no. 173; Scituate Anglicans, Jan. 22, 1738, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 320; William Clark, Sept. 25, 1769, S. P. G. MS, B 22, no. 139; Edward Winslow, Jan. 1, 1774, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 565; Jacob Bailey, Mar. 26, 1761, S. P. G. MS, B 22, no. 59; William W. Wheeler, July 10, 1771, *ibid.*, no. 241; Jacob Bailey, Oct. 4, 1773, *ibid.*, no. 67.

surveying the Anglican churches of Connecticut in 1773, declared that, with the possible exception of Christ Church, Stratford, there was not one of them "able to maintain its Minister."⁴⁹ Had Stiles consulted his "Itineraries," he perhaps would have mentioned instead St. Paul's, Wallingford. His observations confirm the S. P. G. report of its prosperity, showing that its families had an average list of £79—a very high mean assessment—in the grand list of 1761.⁵⁰ At the same time, he recorded that the Derby church, which supposedly included a large number of the poor, had only its proportional amount of the town's taxable property: one-third of the total population, the Derby Anglicans had in 1761 one-third of the total value of the grand list.⁵¹ A remark by another observer likewise makes plausible the assertion that the Simsbury congregation was poor. In 1766, when their ratio to the Congregationalists was "nearly as one to three," Simsbury churchmen had only one-quarter of the taxable property in a town where the average list for all families was perhaps half the Wallingford Anglican figure.⁵²

Such Connecticut grand lists as have survived document in a more precise fashion the picture offered by the S. P. G. correspondents. Unfortunately there are no lists for certain key Anglican centers—Fairfield and Norwalk, for example. Still, lists extending into the 1780's and 1790's exist for a variety of towns and for both village and country congregations. These tax records, whether of the pre- or post-Revolutionary years, reveal a remarkably consistent pattern. Not only do they show a high percentage of Anglican taxpayers at lower economic levels, but they also demonstrate generally a larger proportion of Anglicans than Congregationalists at these levels. (See Table 1)

New England's Anglican congregations, in short, cannot be viewed as assemblies of aristocrats. If the stereotype of gentility and of lavish living is applicable to a few urban congregations—and generally to only a part of their membership—it is totally inaccurate in rural areas. Both

⁴⁹ Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), I, 360.

⁵⁰ Dexter, ed., *Itineraries of Ezra Stiles*, 137.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵² Roger Viets to the S. P. G. Secretary, June 25, 1776, in Hawks and Perry, eds., *Documentary History*, II, 91. This letter puts Simsbury's grand list at £23,944; for an estimate of the total number of families then in the town, compare Viets to the S. P. G. Secretary, Dec. 26, 1763, and June 25, 1768, S. P. G. MS, B 22, nos. 368 and 380.

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF CONNECTICUT ANGLICAN AND
CONGREGATIONALIST TAXPAYERS CLASSIFIABLE AS POOR

Town	Year	Percentage of Poor Anglicans	Percentage of Poor Congregationalists
Stamford ⁵³	1738	36	27
Newtown ⁵⁴	1739	28	11
Guilford (First Society) ⁵⁵	1758	50	32
Guilford (First Society) ⁵⁶	1774	64	38
Guilford (North Society) ⁵⁷	1774	36	34
Milford (First Society) ⁵⁸	1768	43	28
North Haven ⁵⁷	1787	41	44
Redding ⁵⁹	1790	59	46
Litchfield ⁶⁰	1795	52	41

⁵³ Stamford's grand list of 1738 (copy), Stamford Historical Society, Stamford, Conn. Anglican polls of Greenwich and Stamford under the care of James Wetmore, 1738, Eccles. Affairs, 1st Ser., X, doc. 325, Conn. Archives. Several petitions to the S. P. G. and various town records help to identify the Stamford men in the latter list.

⁵⁴ Newtown's grand list of 1738 (copy), in Jane E. Johnson, *Newtown's History and Historian Ezra Leman Johnson* (Newtown, Conn., 1917), 214-217; Anglican polls of Newtown, Redding, and Ridgefield under the care of John Beach, 1738, Eccles. Affairs, 1st Ser., X, doc. 329, Conn. Archives. Again, S. P. G. petitions and local records facilitate the correlation of the grand list and list of polls.

⁵⁵ Guilford First Society's grand lists of 1758 and 1774, and North Society's grand list of 1774, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.; Miscellany of Christ Church, Guilford, Conn., 1744-1801 (copy, unpaged), Connecticut State Library, from which a list of Anglicans living in the First Society in 1758 has been compiled. When names found in the Christ Church Miscellany and in the Records of St. John's Church, North Guilford, Conn., 1749-1868, I, 1-18, 39, 46, 64-70, 75-79, in Connecticut State Library, are correlated with the grand lists of 1774, it becomes evident that a "C" placed beside an entry was used by the lists to identify churchmen.

⁵⁶ Milford First Society's grand list of 1768, Connecticut State Library; Records of St. Peter's Church, Milford, Conn., 1764-1869 (copy), I, 1-19, also in Connecticut State Library, and from which a list of Anglicans living in the First Society in 1768 has been compiled. The percentages of Congregationalists in the lower economic class living in Milford, in Guilford's First Society both in 1758 and 1774, and in Newtown and Stamford were almost certainly smaller than the figures given in the text. Because of the makeup of the grand lists, it has not been feasible in these cases to identify and eliminate from consideration taxpayers who were nonresidents. Since nonresidents' taxable properties appear in general to have been small, the inclusion

literary and statistical evidence converge to present a very different picture. They show that New England Anglicanism in its area of greatest numerical strength—the farm community and the rural village—was in good part a lower class movement.

For The Tribune.
Example for Good Men.

The venerable Bishop White, for some time Chaplain of the Congress sitting in Philadelphia, was accustomed to say, that he considered it a sacred duty, which he owed to his country for the protection she afforded him as a citizen, to lend his influence for the elevation of men, who, in his opinion, were best qualified for the offices to which they were nominated. It would be well if all good men, especially in times like the present, would imitate his patriotic example.— Their wisdom and influence is never more needful and important than when the public mind is highly excited. And if they neglect their duty to their country at such periods, they may be justly held responsible for all the evils which ensue. The privilege of discharging promptly the civil duties of freemen should be viewed as a trust committed to their hands by the Ruler of Nations. They ought surely to give a careful consideration to the important questions at issue; and, having conscientiously made up their minds, to act accordingly; and kindly to exert the influence Providence has given them. Were this course pursued by all the good men of our country, the great interests of the nation would be placed in good hands, and be secure, for with these is the intelligence of the country; and knowledge gives power to direct aright. It should never be forgotten, that in a Republic, the people hold the sovereign power, and are therefore responsible for the character of the Government in all its branches. And the great mass of these can have no motive but to divest themselves of prejudice, and act, in the fear of Heaven, for the Nation's highest good.

WILLIAM PENN.

[The following article, here only partly reprinted, contains what is known about the interesting non-juror who offered to consecrate Samuel Seabury. His letter to Seabury appears at the end of the excerpt, which is taken from the Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society, 4th series, IV (1914), pp. 1-13.]

WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT, NONJUROR, AND HIS CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF SHREWSBURY.

EPITRED BY THE LATE WILLIAM PHILLIPS, F.L.S.

were flocking to the standard of the Young Pretender, and
Manchester was being moved by a spirit of violent disloyalty
to George II.

[Something seems to be missing here. Perhaps, “Cart-
wright has left this account of his religious convictions”:]

“I was not originally educated in the principles which I
now profess; but till the 21st year of my age was a member
of the Established Church of England, as all my ancestors
were, as far back as I have any knowledge or history of them.

When I was 19 years of age I began to study the various
controversies between the different communities and de-
nominations, from Greeks and Romans down to the Quakers
and Methodists: and having examined the arguments of the
best and most approved writers among them, I found that
the Churches of Greece and Rome were very corrupt; the
Church of England very defective; and, as I still think
(pardon my freedom) too much restrained in the exercise of
the pure spiritual Powers of the Priesthood, by the Pregale,
and that the Anti-episcopal dissenters, of all denominations,
were no church at all; having, in my opinion, in their
present constitutions, no more relation to the Catholic
Church than Savage Tribes have to Civil Society.”

At some period in early life Cartwright came under the
influence of a remarkable man, Thomas Deacon, a Nonjuring
Bishop residing in Manchester, whose daughter, Sarah
Sophia, he married about the year 1757. Deacon was con-
secrated a Bishop by Archibald Campbell and Roger
Lawrence,¹ and was an earnest Jacobite. Three of his sons
joined the standard of the Prince, under the command of
Townley. Thomas Theodorus Deacon, one of these, was
executed in the following year, with eight of his companions,
on Kennington Common (30 July, 1746). After he was
decapitated his body was delivered to his father to be buried,
and his head was preserved in spirits, sent to Manchester,
and fixed on the Exchange. His son Charles was transported
for life for the same offence; and a third son died on his way
to London for his trial.² These bereavements only confirmed

WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT, to whom belonged the *Chronological History* printed below, spent the greater part of his life in Shrewsbury, practising as a surgeon, and is better known to some as Bishop Cartwright, one of the last of the Nonjurors.

He was the son of William Cartwright, an exciseman, of Newcastle under Lyme, Staffordshire, said to have been connected with the Cartwrights of Bewdley, Worcestershire. One writer,¹ states that the latter held a commission in the regiment of Colonel Townley raised in Manchester to assist the Young Pretender in 1745, and that he was taken prisoner, tried for High Treason, and executed. We find no evidence of this in the *State Trials*, which records the execution of Colonel Townley and his associates.

The first trustworthy account of the Bishop is found in the books of the Mercers' Company of Shrewsbury, where occurs this entry:—“William Cartwright, son of William Cartwright of New Castle Underline, in the County of Stafford, did put himself apprentice to Mr. John Dod, Apothecary, for the term of seven years, from August the roth, 1745, as will appear by Indentures.”² The Mercers' and the Drapers' Companies were considered “the two most important Guilds of Shrewsbury, and comprised amongst their Combrethren the most opulent and influential tradesmen of the place, who, by the amassing of great wealth, laid the foundation of many families who now bear in our town and county a high social status.”³ The date of Cartwright's apprenticeship, when taken in connection with subsequent events of his life, is worth noting. It was the year of the Rebellion, and the same month in which many of the Scotch

¹ *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, vol. ii, p. 115.
² Books of the Company, preserved in the Shrewsbury Free Library.
³ *Transactions of the Shrop. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. VIII., p. 389.

¹ The date uncertain, but subsequent to 1733. *Latibury*, p. 381.
² *State Trials*.

Deacon in his Jacobite zeal, and steady attachment to the principles of the nonjurors. He had founded an episcopal church in Manchester, which was to be strictly catholic, though not papal. He styled it "The True British Catholic Church," and its members assembled for worship at his house in Fennel Street, adjoining the inn now known as the Dog and Partridge. It seems he received some support from the Manchester clergy.¹ Possessed of considerable polemical skill, his pen never lay idle in the intervals of his professional work.

The origin of the Nonjurors, though familiar to all readers of ecclesiastical history, may be briefly summarised in connection with Deacon and Cartwright. When the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, at the accession of William and Mary, were required to be taken by all holding civil or military appointments, or ecclesiastical preferments, Archbishop Sancroft and eight bishops, with about four hundred of the clergy, and some of the most distinguished of the laity "took the somewhat narrow view that as they had taken an oath of allegiance to James II. from which he had not dispensed them, they could not conscientiously take an oath of allegiance to another sovereign."² The bishops and many of the clergy were deprived of their benefices. These with such members of the Church as sympathised with their action formed themselves into a separate body. Archbishop Sancroft, after a time, foreseeing the possibility of the future extinction of the body, by lapse of time, sent a list of the divines who had been ejected from their benefices, to St. Germain with a request that James would nominate two who might keep up the succession. James named Hickes and Wagstaff. "Such," writes Macaulay in his usual brilliant style, but in too censorious a spirit, "was the origin of a schismatical hierarchy, which, having during a short time excited alarm, soon sank into obscurity and contempt, but which in obscurity and contempt continued to drag on a languid existence during several generations. The little Church, without temples, revenues or dignities, was even

more distracted by internal disputes than the great Church, which retained possession of cathedrals, tithes and peerages. Some nonjurors leaned towards the ceremonies of Rome: others would not tolerate the slightest departure from the Book of Common Prayer. Altar was set up against altar. One phantom prelate pronounced the consecration of another phantom prelate, uncanonical. At length the pastors were left absolutely without flocks. One of these Lords Spiritual very wisely turned surgeon;¹ another left what he had called his see, and settled in Ireland; and at length, in 1805, the last Bishop of that society which had claimed to be the only true Church of England, dropped unnoticed into the grave.² After carefully reading Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors*, one cannot help accepting the above epitome as in the main accurate: but so many of these men, and especially the episcopal portion, were such high-minded, conscientious, devout, and learned individuals that every candid student of their history will award them profound respect. "The loss which the Church of England sustained from the expulsion of the nonjurors cannot be measured by numbers. Among them were the very best of the English clergy and laity. At no time could the gentle steadfastness of Ken, the vigour of Frampton, the scholarly grace of Leslie, the devotion of Nelson, the research of Johnson, or the multifarious learning of Dodwell be easily spared."

Of these men Deacon and Cartwright were amongst the successors, though, according to Lathbury,³ they formed a new order, of which Deacon was the originator, differing from the regular nonjurors. Deacon possessed a masterful spirit, and doubtless, moulded the views of his son-in-law, the young apothecary, on his own model, being thirty-three years his senior.

We learn from Cartwright that before he took the step of joining the Nonjurors, a very learned parish priest was employed to remove his scruples respecting the Communion of the Church of England; but that the priest on finding his ground untenable, he soon relinquished the undertaking.

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² Henry Offley Wakeman's "Introduction to the History of the Church of England," p. 412.

³ Lathbury, pp. 390 and 396.

He was ordained deacon and priest in 1758, when 28 years of age, and consecrated bishop in 1780, and derived these orders from the Episcopal Church of Scotland through the medium of a successor of Bishop Campbell. Bishop Campbell was consecrated by two deprived Scotch Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblane (Rose and Douglas) and Bishop Falconer.

We learn from a letter Cartwright wrote to the Rev. Dr. Seabury, that he resided for a time in London prior to 1769, where he made the acquaintance of Bishop Gordon, last bishop of the regular body, but had no particular intimacy with him, "as he was a gentleman of great reserve." "But," he adds, "I was upon the most intimate footing of friendship with one of his presbyters, the Rev. William Falconer, brother of the most Rev. William Falconer, many years primate of Scotland." In the "Journal of the Episcopai Visitation of the Rev. Bishop Forbes of Ross and Argyll," occurs the following note in his letter to Bishop Douglas:—
"I live in much obscurity as to my clerical character, being necessitated to practise Pharmacy, in which I was regularly educated, to maintain myself, my wife, and five daughters; (it pleased God to deprive me of a very learned, pious, and hopeful, only son, in the 26th year of his age; when he had acquired an uncommon share of theological, physical, and medical knowledge), yet respecting my religious Principles and Character, I never used much reserve, where an open avowal of them was not evidently casting pearls before swine."

"1763 Oct. 14, the 17th after Trinity,—I read prayers for Mr. James Falconer, at his chapel in Westminster, and we dined—Mrs. Falconer in company—with Mr. Lindsey, apothecary, and nephew to the Rev. Mr. John Lindsey before mentioned. This evening we drank tea with the Rev. Mr. Cartwright, at his own house, one of Dr. Deacon's clergy, who had visited me several times at our lodgings, where free and open conversation passed between us without any manner of reserve. He is married upon one of Dr. Deacon's daughters, and appears to be a person who has it at heart to promote the interests of Religion upon true, genuine, Catholic Principles, as one that 'asketh for the old Paths.'"¹ It

appears from this that Cartwright had been ordained deacon or presbyter; of this fact we have seen no other record, nor do we know by whom the ordination was performed. It is stated by Lathbury that Cartwright and Price were consecrated by Deacon alone, in 1795, but this is obviously an error, as, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Deacon died in 1753. He may have consecrated Kenrick Price, who was a grocer in Manchester, at an earlier date, but Cartwright was, doubtless, consecrated by Kenrick Price. In a MS. formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Henry Pidgeon, author of *The Memorials of Shrewsbury*, it is stated that Kenrick Price came over from Manchester to Shrewsbury on purpose to consecrate Cartwright, he having been previously examined by a superior. Pidgeon, residing in the same town, and being acquainted with some of Cartwright's family, probably had his information at first hand,¹ but, as in the case of his ordination, no date is given. Cartwright pursued his profession of surgeon in connection with his religious duties, and conducted divine worship in his house in Mardol, whither those who held the same views resorted. The Stuart dynasty down to its latest representative had many admirers in Shrewsbury, and Jacobitism was rife in the county in some of the best families about this time. Corbet Kynaston, one of the most prominent Salopians, who sat for the borough and the county in Parliament, was an ardent Jacobite; and ladies of several families were privately known to hold these sentiments. Cartwright found a sympathetic disciple in the Rev. Thomas Podmore, Chaplain and Schoolmaster at Millington's Hospital. He appears to have been at one time in the service of Dr. Deacon in Manchester, and is referred to by a scurrilous adversary of the Doctor's in these words:—"At Dr. Deacon's schism shop in Fennel Street, where he vended his spiritual packets and practiced his spiritual quackery on Sundays, and where Tom Podmore was his under-strapper; his congregation did not consist of above a few score of old women."² Podmore however, was a worthy and much respected man, and when

he died Cartwright recorded the event as follows:—"On Sunday evening last, in the 81st year of his age, the Rev. Thomas Podmore, for some years¹ Master of Millington's Hospital, in this town, and many years a Deacon of the Ancient Orthodox British Church, of whom, in a few words, it may be gently said, 'He was a pious and faithful Christian, and a peaceable, honest man, an Israelite indeed.'"² On the terrace of Millington's Hospital is a stone to his memory, bearing this inscription :



Rev^o Tho^r Podmore

Ecc. Orth. Brit. Diac.

ob. 10 April 1785 AET. 81.

May he find Mercy of the Lord in that day.

It was by the request of Podmore that he should be buried in the consecrated ground attached to Cadogan Chapel, which formerly stood on, or near, the present Hospital.³ It has been stated on the authority of Mr. Beech, a Master of the Girls School at the Hospital, who died in 1829, that Thomas Podmore was buried in his gown and bands.⁴ A Thomas Podmore founded an exhibition of £30 a year for a boy proceeding from our Royal Free Grammar School to Trinity College, Cambridge, but it is not known if he were the same person.⁵

We are informed by a townsman that " his appearance was dignified and venerable, his person handsome, and his manners those of a perfect gentleman. His skill as a medical man was eminent, and his practice considerable. He appears by the benevolence of his disposition, and the respect entertained for his virtues and learning, to have acquired the general esteem and regard of his contemporaries."⁶ The

late Rev. D. Mountfield, who resided in Shrewsbury some years, and had gathered various particulars about Cartwright, says of him that he was a retiring worthy man, esteemed much by all who knew him, that he was often visited by his people for instruction, who, most of them came from Manchester.¹ The late Ven. John Allen, Archdeacon of Salop, writes that the late Rev. W. G. Rowland stated that Cartwright used to dress in purple cloth, and that the late Bishop Horsley very much surprised a party of Shrewsbury people by maintaining that William Cartwright was as much a Bishop as he himself.²

The dining room in which the services were held still exists, being spacious, and panelled throughout with oak. One of his daughters described it as having at the upper end an organ, on which his wife played. Over the fire-place was a portrait of the bishop in his episcopal robes, which after his death remained in possession of a married daughter, who went to reside in Monmouth. Although he conducted these services, some of his congregation went to the Established Church, and he allowed his family to go also, as he did not wish to be considered a Dissenter.³ He administered the Sacrament standing, on the Lord's day, kneeling on week days, and mixed the wine with water. When baptizing a child it was performed by trine immersion, and at the same time the child was confirmed with Holy Chrism.⁴ There was found after his death in the Bishop's handwriting, the following memorandum :—" Elizabeth Ellen, daughter of Wm. and Eliz. Thomas, was born Friday, June 3, 1796, and was baptized with trine immersion on Sunday, the 7th of May, 1797, being the third Sunday after Easter; was confirmed with Holy Chrism and communicated of the Eucharist the same day by his grandfather, Wm. C. Bishop of the Orthodox remnant of the Ancient British Church. Sponsor, the said Eliz: Thomas." After the death of Podmore, the meetings at his own house were confined to his own family.

¹ Appointed 19 January, 1771, died 1785.—Books of the Hospital.

² *Salopian Shreds and Patches*, vol. iii, p. 208.

³ On rebuilding the wall against which the stone is placed part of his remains were seen, but left undisturbed. An older stone lies in a ~~borough~~ ^{passing} through the building, which appears to be the original one. The new stone was placed on the terrace by the Rev. James Mathews, Chaplain from 1820 to 1833. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 54.

⁴ *Shrop. Notes and Queries*, vol. ii, p. 116.

⁵ *Salopian Shreds and Patches*, vol. ii, p. 55.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 208.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser. xii, 83.

² *Ibid.* 1861, vol. xi, p. 208.

³ *Salopian Shreds and Patches*, vol. iii, p. 208.

⁴ "The Chrism or ointment as prescribed in the Nonjurors Rite was sweet oil of Olives, and precious Balsam, commonly called Balm of Gilead." *Lathbury*, p. 493.

The Bishop's family consisted of one son and five daughters. Their baptism is not recorded in the Parish Register of St. Chad, Shrewsbury, though the burials of seven are given. From this fact we may infer that they were baptized in his own house according to the ritual described above. His eldest son, Thomas Theodorus, who was so named after Mrs. Cartwright's eldest, and unfortunate brother, who was executed for Treason, was apprenticed to his father as an apothecary in the Mercers' Company in 1778,¹ but died in 1782.² His eldest daughter Elizabeth married Mr. William Thomas,³ an apothecary in partnership with her father, and is said to have succeeded him in the practice, but died and left no issue; his widow remained in Shrewsbury in narrow circumstances. Another daughter married Dr. John Bevan, the author of an excellent work on the Honey Bee, who resided at Ferryside, Carmarthenshire. The third, the widow of Mr. William Thomas, of the firm of Gill and Thomas, Lombard Street, went to reside at Monmouth. The fourth, Sarah, was unmarried. A nephew of the Bishop's lived at Dalston House, Birmingham, where his daughter kept a school.⁴

Bishop Cartwright, when he became old and incapacitated for his professional work, removed to the Abbey Foregate, where he resided till his death. In his last illness, by his special request, he received the Sacrament from the hands of the curate of St. Giles, the Rev. W. G. Rowland, and thus became reconciled to the Established Church. He gave particular instructions as to his funeral. "Thomas White, Carpenter to make the coffin of poplar boards, as plain as possible. John Gould, Francis Oakley, Edward Fellowes, and Robert Randles to be bearers, and to have 2*s* 6*d* each. N.B. No person to follow the coffin, nor is any person to wear black: to be no hatbands or outward symbol of mourn-

¹ "Thos. Theodorus Cartwright, son of William Cartwright, apothecary apprenticed to his father 1778." Books of the Mercers' Company.

² Parish Register of St. Chad, Shrewsbury.

³ Mr. Cartwright, son of Dr. Cartwright, the last of the nonjuring Bishops, was then Governor. A Mr. Thomas who married a daughter of Mr. Cartwright, this means Governor. *Memories of Seventy Years of an Eventful Life*, p. 190. [If Nov. 7, 1913.]

⁴ *Salopian Shreds and Patches* iii, p. 208.

ing of any kind whatsoever. The corps to be buried at St. Giles by Mr. Rowland and Mr. Browne, on a Sunday evening, if possible. On no account to suffer either a bellfry bell, or any bell to toll on the occasion. Sept. 26, 1799." In the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* of Friday, Oct. 18, 1799, appeared the following:—"On Monday last died in his 70th year, Mr. Cartwright, late a very eminent Apothecary of this town. A flag gravestone on the right hand of the path leading to the church bears this inscription:—

Underneath
lie the remains of
William Cartwright
Apothecary
Who died October 1799
Aged 69
Also the remains of
Sarah Sophia Cartwright
wife of the above
who died 6 October, 1807
Aged 70.

About 38 years ago an animated discussion was begun in *Notes and Queries* as to whether William Cartwright was the last nonjuring bishop. Had the correspondents turned to Lathbury (p. 412) they would have found he had already determined the question, by stating that Gordon was the last of the *regular* line, and Booth the last of the irregular line, having died in Ireland in 1805. Deacon consecrated Kenrick Price, Kenrick Price consecrated Cartwright, Cartwright consecrated Garnet, and Garnet consecrated Benjamin Booth.

Of Bishop Cartwright's literary work very little has come to light, and perhaps little exists. We have five letters from his pen, the only examples existing, as far as at present known. The first is addressed to the Rev. Dr. Seabury, a clergyman selected by the American Church to obtain consecration by Anglican bishops, as Bishop of Connecticut. He was eventually consecrated by Scottish bishops. The Doctor died in 1797, and it is remarkable that the following obituary notice appeared in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* of that year:—"March 31. Late, at Norwich, in Connecticut,

America, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., Bishop of that State, one of the most learned and ingenious Prelates of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States." That this should have appeared in a country newspaper, and that it should have been so sympathetic in tone, is readily understood when we bear in mind that William Cartwright was then residing in this town, and very intimate with the proprietor of the paper.

BISHOP CARTWRIGHT TO REV. DR. SEABURY.

Shrewsbury

Aug. 30 1784.

Rev. Sir,

Yesterday I received a letter from Bishop Price of Manchester enclosing a paper written by the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Boucher, of which the following is an abridged copy:—

"Mr. Price is requested to consult Mr. Cartwright whether the Rev. Dr. Seabury can be consecrated by any nonjuring Bishop. With respect to temporals Dr. Seabury is, and expects to remain independent of any control from any State. But, if there be any requisitions of a spiritual nature which Dr. Seabury as a conscientious member of the Church of England cannot comply with, Mr. Cartwright is requested to inform his friend whether he knows of any nonjuring bishop or bishops of the late Bishop Gordon's principles and where they reside. From a review of the Liturgy at Mr. Price's it does not appear that anything will be required which Dr. Seabury may not safely assent to." The answer to these queries I am requested to forward to you. I will therefore begin with the last of them.

"When I resided in London which I left near fifteen years ago I personally knew Bishop Gordon but had no particular intimacy with him as he was a gentleman of great reserve; but I was upon the most intimate footing of friendship with one of his presbyters the Rev. James Falconer brother of the Most Rev. William Falconer many years primate of Scotland now lately deceased. From him I was well informed of Bishop Gordon's principles and practices in Church affairs. I also at that time corresponded with some of the Scotch clergy and from them learned that the principles of most of them were consonant to those of the primitive Catholic Church which some of them indeed evinced by several small tracts published

or at least printed at different times: and particularly by an edition of the ancient Liturgy of St. James which was translated into English, and, with proper rubrics, etc. prepared for use by the late Bishop Rattray and printed in quarto for James Betterham, London, by subscription in the year 1744. This was reprinted in 1790, in London with a form of Morning and Evening Prayer and a penitential office added to it 1748 but without the name of any printer or publisher; but I suspect it was printed by Mr. Betterham. Since I left London I have often enquired after the state of the Church of Scotland but have never yet been able to get any intelligence except that there were a few licensed chapels served by clergy ordained by the Bishop of Carlisle. So that after this long preface my answer to this query must briefly be, that I do not know whether there be one orthodox Bishop left in Scotland or England beside Bishop Price and my unworthy self.

To the other query: "Whether Dr. Seabury can be consecrated by any non-juring Bishop," I think we cannot properly, and ought not immediately, to return a categorical answer.

We do not assume the characters of non-juring Bishops though undoubtedly our predecessors had it and we derive our succession through the hands of those who acknowledged it. But we assume and acknowledge only the character or title of Bishop of the orthodox British Church or of the Primitive Catholic Church in Britain which is now reduced to a small remnant, but yet such as I trust in God will so preserve the sacred depositum that it will again revive and flourish when men have sufficiently wearied themselves in the labyrinths of error and innovation.

The paper says that Dr. Seabury is "independent" in temporals of any control from any state. Had it said that he was "independent of any civil State in Spirituals" it would have spoken our sentiments, and there would have been great probability of a perfect union with us. I may submit to the civil State under which I live in temporals; but in spirituals I acknowledge no allegiance or obedience to any state; but according to the laws of the Church Catholic in the three first centuries, and such as are consonant thereto, which I am persuaded the established Church (and that I call the Church of England) in a great variety of articles most notoriously violates and obliges her clergy to violate. Pardon my freedom; I hope never to daub with untempered mortar.

But the paper further says "From a review of the Liturgy at Mr. Price's, it does not appear that anything will be required which Dr. Seabury may not safely assent to."

If Dr. Seabury can conscientiously officiate by that Liturgy at present, he would when consecrated be fully authorized to frame his own liturgy if he chooses so to do, and cannot be lawfully subject to any control but that of the laws, customs, and usages of the primitive Catholic Church. And provided he will engage so to conform himself in all his ecclesiastical functions nothing more ought to be required of him by any Consecrator. We have no Trent Creeds, no thirty nine articles, no nice metaphysical definitions of doubtful speculations. In these matters we think and let think.

The questions in our Ordinal or Office of Consecration bind not the conscience of an honest intelligent Christian with any unorthodox or un-Catholic Fathers. They do indeed propose to him an obligation to study and observe the doctrine, government, worship and discipline of the primitive Catholic Church—an obligation which the great degeneracy of the times and the extreme diversity of opinions which now prevails render the more necessary. And it is only by reverting to the first and Catholic principles, that the genuine purity of our most holy faith, the comely Catholic practice of public Christian worship, the exercise of wholesome Spiritual discipline, and the unity of the Church and priesthood, can ever be recovered. For as the Church was not first planted so I think it never will be restored to its purity by any lay-power or mere civil establishment whatever.

Those powers taken in the gross now are and always were rather inimical to the purity of religion; though true religion is itself the best support of lawful civil power. I beg pardon for troubling you with so long a letter upon two short queries, which as yet I cannot decisively answer.

If I should be any way instrumental in planting an orthodox Episcopacy in the Western World, I shall think it the happiest event of my life. This letter though at Mr. Boucher's request, it may be superscribed to you is meant for the Rev. Dr. Seabury's consideration, to whom I beg leave to present my faithful and affectionate respects. Though I am at a great distance from, and cannot conveniently have a personal consultation with Bishop Price, yet, I believe his general sentiments and principles upon these subjects are in perfect unison with my own.

May our heavenly Father vouchsafe to give us pure hearts and watchful minds, the knowledge of His truth and obedience to His will in this life and in the kingdom of his dear Son in the world to come, everlasting life.

I am Rev. Sir your and Dr. Seabury's very faithful servant in one common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

W.M. CARTWRIGHT.

NOTE.—This letter was addressed to:—the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

[From the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, Dec. 1849, p. 217.]

The next two letters were addressed to the Right Rev. John Douglas, Bishop of Carlisle 1787 to 1791, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. He died at Windsor Castle in 1807.

Shrewsbury, 3 June 1789.

My, Lord,—I have been favoured with an abstract of your Lordship's letter to Mr. Jeffreys of the 3rd of May, wherein a question is propounded as from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning *myself*; & your Lordship very candidly says, “There needs be no reserve in Mr. Cartwright to give the information required.”

Now, my Lord, though I live in much obscurity as to my clerical character, being necessitated to practise Pharmacy, in which I was regularly educated, to maintain myself, my wife, & five daughters,¹ yet respecting my religious Principles & character, I never used much reserve, where an open avowal of them was not evidently casting pearls before swine.

To all, who ever interrogated me with any appearance of the love of Truth, I have been open & communicative, as several of the established Clergy, especially some young ones here, with pleasure can testify.

To some, more advanced in years, I may often have seemed to be rather *too* open & free, & the freedom with which I have generally expressed my sentiments, in the course of my epistolary correspondence, having written much in that way, on account of the consecration of Dr. Seabury, the present Bishop of Connecticut, may, probably, have given occasion for name & character, to have been mentioned to his Grace of Canterbury.

I was not originally educated in the principles which I now profess; but till the 2nd year of my age was a member of the Established Church of England, as all my ancestors were, as far back as I have any knowledge or history of them.

¹ It pleased God to deprive me of a very learned, pious, and hopeful *only son*, in the 26th year of his age; when he had acquired an uncommon share of Theological, Physical, & medical knowledge.

When I was 19 years of age I began to study the various controversies between the different Communities & Denominations, from the Greeks & Romans down to the Quakers & Methodists : and having examined the arguments of the best & most approved writers among them, I found that the Churches of Greece and Rome were very corrupt ; the Church of England very defective ; & as I still think (pardon my freedom) too much restrained in the exercise of the pure spiritual Powers of the Priesthood, by the *Pregale* : [I never heard of a *Pregale*, but this is the word, very clearly written. S.B.] ; & that the Anti-Episcopal dissenters, of all denominations, were no church at all ; having, in my opinion, in their present constitutions, no more relation to the Catholic Church, than Savage Tribes have to Civil Society.

• • •

By a letter which I received three days ago from Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, now in London, I find that the “*character*” of Mr. Price & myself as “*Christian Bishops*” is virtually disowned by the Scottish Bishops.

The perusal of this letter astonished & surprised me to a degree which I never *experienced* in my life. It gave me occasion to ask Bishop Skinner the following, among other questions, which I sent to him this morning in a letter to a friend, under cover to my very obliging friend Mr. Pulteney, viz.

1st.—Whether the *consecration* of a Bishop, by a single Bishop, under any circumstances whatever, when everything else Essential to a consecration is done, be in itself an absolute Nullity.

2.—Whether you [meaning Bp. Skinner & his colleagues] have any other ground whereon to question the *Validity* of our orders ?

3.—Whether many branches of the church now existing, can show any other Succession than what was originally derived from a single Bishop.

From the Sermon which Bishop Skinner preached at the consecration of Dr. Seabury in Nov. 1784, from a Book which he printed in 1786, entitled “*Lectures on the six Sundays in Lent*,” particularly from the 6th Lecture, & from his Father’s Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, I had every reason to hope & believe That the Scottish Bishops were strenuous advocates *for*, & that they actually had *restored*, some, at least, of the ancient, primitive, Catholic & Apostolic Usages ; particularly those which we recognise as *Essential* to the validity of the Christian *Sacrifice* ; and which, I think Dr. Hickes, Mr. Johnson of Cranbrook, Dr. Brett & Mr. Laurence,

in the present century (not to mention many other eminently learned men) have proved to be so.

And in consequence of that hope & belief, I was wishing to bring about a nearer Unity & communion with the Scottish Episcopal Church, than what had subsisted since the **death of Bishop Campbell in 1744**. But,

By the Letter of Bp. Skinner above mentioned, & by their *CASE*, of which I have been able to procure only a MS. copy, to my great & inexpressible grief I find that I have been reckoning without my host ; & that the Scotch seem ready to be absorbed, or incorporated into the Communion of the English Establishment, in its present state.

Now, my Lord, if this should be the case, & no alteration made in that Establishment, from the knowledge which I possess of Ecclesiastical matters, whatever be the consequences in this world, I cannot in conscience accede to such a coalition, nor adopt for a Eucharistical or communion office, one, so maimed & defective, as, I am convinced That of the established Church of England is.

Your Lordship has given me leave to be *unreserved* : you see, my Lord, that I am so.

The Book which your Lordship enquires after, I suspect may be had at Rivington’s in Pater-Noster Row. There is a copy of it in the Catalogue of Thomas & John Egerton, Whitehall, if it be not sold. It it cannot be had at Rivington’s nor from that Catalogue I will send a Copy of it, & also of the “*Full, true, & comprehensive view of Christianity*,” which is a *Rationale* of the other, & was printed at Rivington’s in two editions, one of 1747, the other 1748, to the care of two of my Daughters who are at Mr. Owens, Bookseller, No. 11 Fleet street, or at their uncle’s Mr. Henry Deacon at Ranelagh, who shall leave them for your Lordship wherever you shall direct.

There are also, in Egerton’s catalogue, some of the works of Bp. Laurence worthy an attentive Perusal, particularly No. 9865 & 9866.

I should further inform your Lordship that Bp. Deacon published about the year 1748, in answer to some *cavils* of the late Dr. Middleton, An Apologetical Epistle to the Author of *Remarks on two Pamphlets against Dr. Middleton’s Introductory discourse &c.*

I now take my leave, my Lord, unless your Lordship shall honour me with some further command, & am, your Lordship’s very obedient humble Servant

St. Andrew's Bell Rings All Seasons Again

Historic Episcopal Church in North Bloomfield Is Back on Full Schedule After Lapse of Approximately 45 Years

BY EVA SULLIVAN

NESTLED among beautiful trees on the Tariffville Road, North Bloomfield, is an interesting example of New England piety and perseverance, the old St. Andrew's Church.

Fourth oldest Episcopal church in the state, it assumed a renewed religious significance this year. On last Easter Sunday, year-around services were resumed in the historic edifice with a service of Holy Communion. It had been approximately 45 years since the custom of holding services only in the summer had gone into effect. Now, once again, the church bell entones the Sabbath in all seasons throughout the old valley which was known as Scotland in the eighteenth century.

St. Andrew's had its beginnings in the year of grace, 1740. Yearning for the ritual of the church of their childhood, six sturdy settlers of North Bloomfield, then Scotland, rebelled at paying taxes for the support of the Congregational Church, and forcibly expressed their decision to build a meeting house where they could worship according to their desires, the cherished church of England.

That was 209 years ago and immediately the timbers were pegged into a small frame building on the north side of the old burying ground. In less than three years the heads of 20 families pledged themselves to the church. These were people of various nationalities as the discovery of copper and other ores had brought in German, French, Welch, Irish, Dutch and Scottish families.

THE next step was to obtain a glebe or land endowment, without which no parish was then considered established. The glebe contained 50 acres of land and was bought November 22, 1742, for 200 pounds. The deed for this is now kept by the parish clerk, and a photostatic copy is in the Connecticut State Library.

Four years after these six religious pioneers declared their

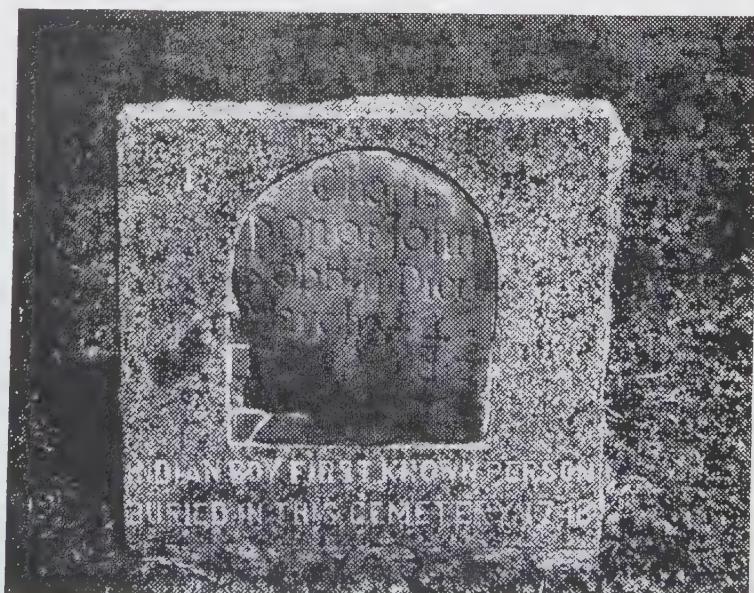
FIVE

Sunday, June 12, 1949.

THE HARTFORD COURANT MAGAZINE



Late Abraham Holcombe was said to be "the eldest and most respectable" of his family in this quaint epitaph.



This stone in the old churchyard marks grave of an Indian boy, first known person buried in cemetery in 1748.

loyalty to Mother Church, the parish of St. Andrew was solidly established with legal recognition, a church, a glebe and at least 33 pledged supporters. It was the pioneer parish of the Episcopal Church in northern Connecticut.

Along the high road from New York to Boston, close to tide water, Episcopal churches were well established, supported by the so-called aristocracy. But the little, roughly-built

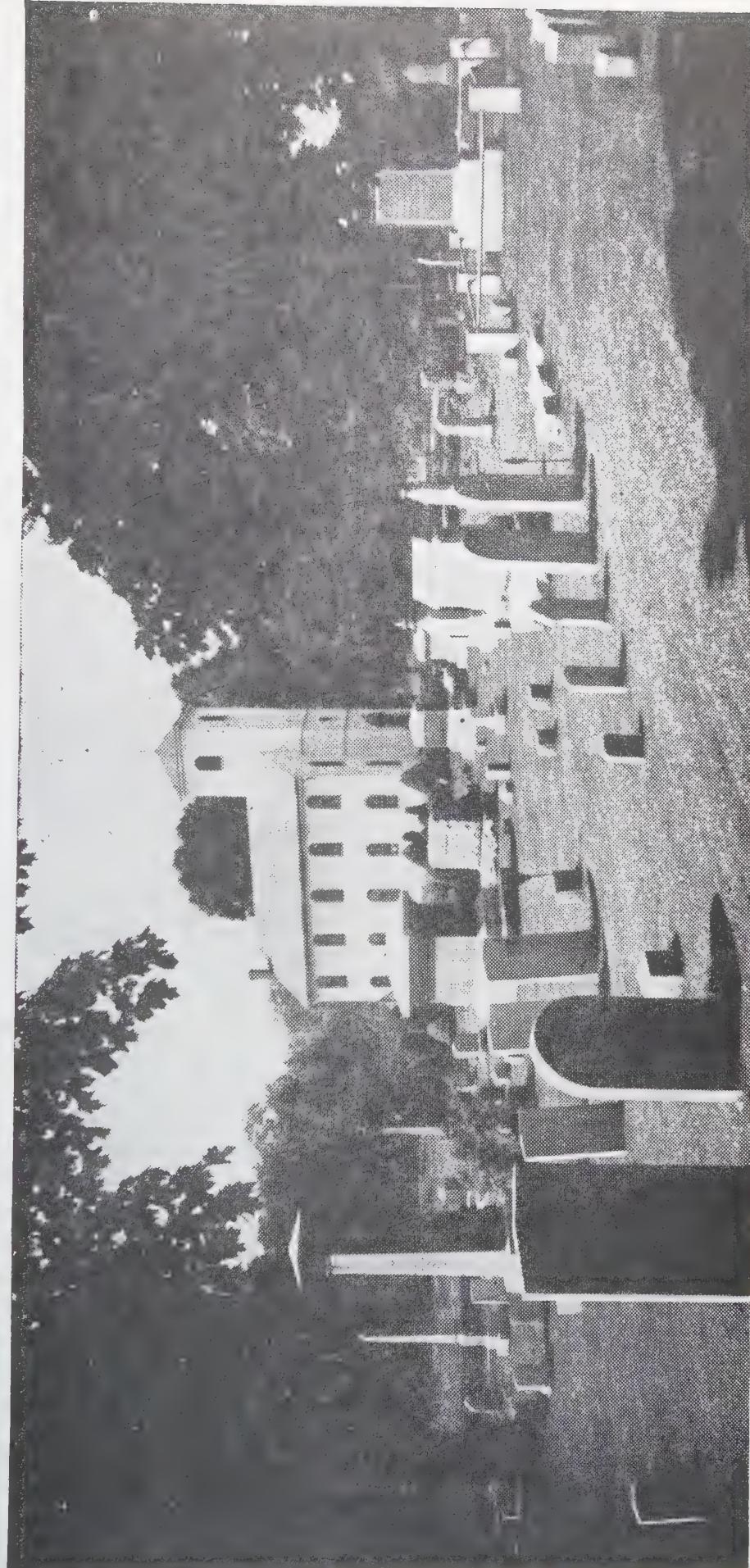
house of worship in Scotland, without bell or steeple, furnished spiritual consolation to the farmers, mechanics and plain people whose devotion to the church of their forefathers had been made possible. Descriptions of this first church are meager, but judged by modern ideas it must have been most uncomfortable, never wholly finished, never painted and with no heat. But it served the purpose for 65 years.

After the confusion and poverty of the Revolution, a new, more modern church was the dream of the parish for years. After discussions as to site, sharing the service of a rector, and various subjects of disagreement, the decision was made to build a new church. It was to be built about two miles from the old church on what is now Duncaster Road. The change in location was made because it would be more accessible for parishioners from Wintonbury, Hop Meadow, Weatogue and Northington, now Avon.

WORK progressed rapidly. The old church was sold and proceeds used toward the new one. The debt was paid and the church was consecrated. However, the population shifted as Tariffville became a manufacturing center. Also sentimental attachment to the old location, near the glebe and the burying ground in Scotland, were factors in the decision, with the bishop's approval, to take down the old church and rebuild it near the original site. This was done in 1828 and with some improved furnishings, including a really modern concession to human frailty, stoves, the old church still stands.

During the decade of the Nineties, the little church was improved by renovation of the interior. The seats were cushioned, the organ was repaired, stained glass windows were installed, a new set of altar hangings were made by the ladies, the church was painted and a set of lamps placed on the pillars inside the church. These old oil lamps are still there but are now electrified.

The burying ground adjoining the church is now one of the oldest cemeteries in the state still in use. In it lie many of the descendants of the original settlers of Bloomfield, Simsbury and Granby. One of the graves is that of the first Indian child baptized in the region.



St. Andrew's Church, established 1740, and ancient burying ground, is fourth oldest in state's Diocese. (All Court Photos—Philip J. Acquaviva).

As early as 1866 and 1867, the people of the parish became interested in the upkeep of the cemetery, something unusual for rural communities at that time. And a superintendent of the burying ground was created. In 1913 an association for the perpetual care of the cemetery was formed.

OLD ST. Andrew's is the mother church of flourishing parishes in Litchfield County, Hartford County, the Connecticut Valley and Western Massachusetts. As early as 1762 Roger Viets, then a lay reader at St Andrew's, read the prayer book service in the old Court House in Hartford. From that event Christ Church Cathedral parish traces its history. But there was no church building until after the Revolution.

The present rector is the Rev. Raymond Cunningham of Trinity Church, Hartford. He has served in that capacity since 1929 and services have been held during the summer months by visiting ministers and by officiating ministers bearing the title of vicar. The vicar of St. Andrew's now is the Rev. H. Lawrence Whittemore, Jr., who also serves as curate at Trinity Church in Hartford.

St. Andrew's has never been a wealthy parish and through various shifts in population, it has suffered the loss of members and consequently interest and support. But the staunch loyalty of the devout members of the parish has kept it alive. Now, with a marked growth in the population in the area, there is a need for services. With new families of the Episcopal faith in the community to cooperate with the old standby members and the untiring efforts of the new young vicar, the Rev. Mr. Whittemore, it has taken on new life.

A modern oil furnace has been installed and other improvements are being contemplated. It is the hope and plan that the fourth oldest Episcopal church in the diocese of Connecticut may again do its part in ministering to the spiritual needs of the community. From June through September, seven o'clock services will be held every Sunday evening, and a service of Holy Communion on one Sunday morning a month.

BISHOP SEABURY.

A few incidents accidentally overlooked, or not deemed of sufficient importance to weave into my "Life and Correspondence" of this distinguished prelate, are, perhaps, worth noting in a communication to a Church periodical.

In Chandler's letter (pp. 180, 181) to Isaac Wilkins, Esq., put into the hands of the bishop when he was about to sail for America, it is stated that he went "by the way of Nova Scotia for several reasons, of which the principal is that he may see the situation of that part of his family which is in that quarter, and be able to form a judgment of the prospects before them. He will try hard to see you, but, as he will not have much time to spare, he fears that he shall not be able to go to Shelburne in quest of you."

Shelburne was chiefly settled by refugees from New York at the close of the Revolutionary war, many of them parishioners of Dr. Inglis, rector of Trinity church, who was driven from his charge and his property confiscated. He was obliged to flee to England, where he was consecrated, on the 12th of August, 1787, Bishop of Nova Scotia—the Church of England in the remaining British colonies in America being thus completed after a struggle running through nearly two centuries, and Dr. Inglis made the first episcopal head. Shelburne attracted the immigrants by the beauty and security of its harbor, but it was a hard fate which they encountered, and "lines of women," we are told, "on their first arrival, could be seen sitting on the rocks of the shore and weeping at their altered condition."

Inducements were offered to the immigrants to settle in different places, and a number from Connecticut, and New York as well, took up their abode in St. John, New Brunswick, where a temporary church was provided and used until the opening of a substantial one in 1791. While Dr. Inglis was the first colonial bishop of the Church of England, he was not the first bishop who set his foot on this continent or preached in the Dominion of Canada. Seabury, as he intended when he took his departure from the Downs, stopped at Halifax and visited the friends whom he wished to see. The following extract from a ms. letter of Munson Jarvis, dated St. John, New Brunswick, July 28th, 1785, to his brother, William Jarvis, then in London, England, is interesting as showing the way he employed himself during his detention on British territory:

"I received your letter per Bishop Seabury. We have heard much of a clergyman being appointed from England for this place, which I pray God may be true, for I think there never was a place wanted one more. A large town, without one clergyman in it, except Mr. Secretary Odell, who sometimes reads prayers for us. We had Bishop Seabury here, who preached for us several Sundays. Wish you would make a point of it to get what information you can, and let me know as soon as possible what we are to depend on from home, as there are many here that wait with the greatest impatience to know what we have to depend on with respect to the church of which I have the honor to be one of the wardens."

Munson Jarvis, born at Stamford, Conn., was persecuted for his loyalty, and, with his father and two brothers, was sent over the lines to Long Island during the war by the patriots of his native place. Bishop Seabury, who could not officiate within the jurisdiction of the Church of England when abroad, owing to the restriction of the usual oaths of supremacy and obedience—a restriction which was not formally removed by Parliament until 1840—was far enough away to be in danger of no evil consequences when he preached the Gospel to the poor loyalists in St. John.

The first part of Seabury's ms. journal, ending with May, 1791, which has been lost, doubtless contained some minute incidents which cannot now be stated with certainty. Whether, after leaving St. John, he touched at Boston is not apparent from any record that I have discovered. Probably he passed it by, for he landed at Newport, R. I., on Monday, June 20th, 1785—making a period of just three months and five days from the time he left England to his arrival at that place. His next visit to Newport was near the end of March, 1786, when he held a special ordination there, and proceeded to Boston for other episcopal duties. Boston was not distinguished for liberality of sentiment in those days—at least it had no good affection for the Church of England and the office of a bishop. It was much more likely to sympathize with a paragraph in a virulent newspaper of the time, which thus noticed, under date of April 8d, 1786, an official act of Seabury on his first visit to Boston:

"Wednesday last Samuel Seabury, late chaplain of the British king's American regiment, commanded by Colonel Fanning, laid his paws on the heads, caps, bonnets, and cushions of seventy persons in Christ church, Boston, and—confirmed them."

Such paragraphs are without value now except as fixing dates and revealing the angry tempers of men in a heated period of civil history.

E. E. BEARDLEY.

National Archives Notes Upsurge In Researching Family Roots

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Mrs. Joseph Van Sickler of Cape Coral, Fla., peering at a screen, found something she had been seeking for 14 years — a trace of her father's mother's parents.

"I found them in Chicago, in the 1900 census," she said. "It showed they'd been living in the United States for 15 years. Once I had that, it was easy to go to ship passenger lists from 1885 until I found where they'd all come over."

Mrs. Van Sickler is an amateur genealogist. She was doing her research on microfilmed records at the National Archives, storehouse of government records.

Across America, tracing family roots has skyrocketed as a hobby.

At the National Archives, where amateur genealogists are called "geanies," the number of research passes issued to visitors has doubled in 10 years, and is no longer the avocation of those seeking to qualify for membership in some blueblood organization.

A staff of 60 is required to handle the 4,000 letters that arrive every week seeking help. If the writer can fill out a form to pinpoint what he needs, he can obtain photocopied records for \$3 a sheet.

About 70 per cent of the 20,029 passes issued last year went to people who came to the archives to seek out their family histories in the archives' military service and pension records, immigrant ship passenger lists and census records, which are kept secret for 70 years.

These records are kept under the direction of Texas-born Bill Linder, whose wife claims George Washington as an ancestor and who found, in researching his own family, that his great grandfather was a convicted murderer.

Linder's interest in his own ancestry caused him to give up a career in aerospace and enter archival work.

He believes national interest is high because of the "extended family" that rarely exists any longer.

"In Kenedy, Tex., I grew up with grandparents and great uncles and third cousins," he says. "We all had Sunday dinner together. My kids don't have that. If they're going to know anything about their family, they're going to read it."

The Bicentennial also spurred interest, Linder said. "Roots", Alex Haley's account of how his search for ancestors carried him to Africa, has been a recent runaway bestseller.

In Mrs. Van Sickler's case, religion was the motivator. The Van Sicklers are Mormons and practice baptism by proxy of deceased ancestors.

When she located her husband's immigrant great grandparents in the Chicago census, she learned much: that they owned a house with a mortgage, that they had 11 children, one of whom died at sea, that one son peddled meats and another was a printer, that all the children except Gustav, 9, were born in Germany, that an apartment in the house was rented to a married daughter, whose mother-in-law lived there, too, and that the mother-in-law had five children.

"My mother died when I was a child, and when I used to ask my father about his ancestors, he would say, 'Why don't you let the dead rest?'" Mrs. Van Sickler said. "But this brings you closer to your family. Your eyes get tired, but it's worth it."

Mrs. Van Sickler's husband, operator of a dry cleaning shop, has traced his family to the 1600s. He suspects he may be a descendant of Millard Fillmore, 13th U.S. president. His mother's maiden name was Millard.

Also working in the archives' research room was Joseph Coulter, a bearded retired Army colonel who traces other peoples' ancestors for a fee. He works by the hour.

Of his 12 steady clients, one is a Civil War buff in Alabama, who collects old uniforms and likes to know the war records of the men in blue

or gray whose names are attached to the uniforms.

In eight years, Coulter has traced his own family through eight generations to a British soldier who fought in the French-Indian Wars and was discharged in 1763. At his home, family records fill seven file cabinet drawers.

Archivist Linder says most Americans, because of intermarriage, can find ancestors from colonial or revolutionary war days. Only relative newcomers, or persons whose families married only within their own ethnic groups, are unlikely to have such a link to the nation's past, he says.

"After all," he says, "after 21 generations you have over one million ancestors."

"Of course, records rarely go that far back. English parish registers go back to 1538. Before then, if you didn't have money, land or position, you didn't make the records."

He says the news from the past isn't always happy news. "But people aren't so narrow any more," he says. "An illegitimate birth in the family background doesn't bother most."

Amateur genealogists need not come to Washington to dig into their pasts. Census record microfilms are stored in 12 regional centers and in many state archives.

Courthouses are a storehouse of deeds, marriage records, wills and court records — all fertile territory. Church records shed much light. Most localities have historical and genealogical societies.

The Mormon Church, with the biggest genealogical library in the world and a microfilming program that even reaches behind the Iron Curtain, maintains records in branches in large cities across the country.

The National Archives, Washington, D.C., 20408, offers a one-page guide, "Genealogical Research — How to Begin."

Anglican-Catholic Talks 'Joyful'

VATICAN CITY (AP) — The archbishop of Canterbury, after a meeting Thursday with Pope Paul VI on Christian unity, challenged the hierarchies of his Anglicans and the Roman Catholics to permit joint Communion services.

Pope Paul VI later described the 1½-hour meeting with Dr. Donald Coggan, spiritual leader of the Anglican Communion, as a "joyful occasion."

Dr. Coggan said after the talks, "What a marvelous thing to meet and speak together for more than an hour in love, frankness and ease."

Dr. Coggan questioned whether "our work of joint evangelization will not be seriously weakened" without joint communion.

He said the churches should officially sanction joint communion because already "Roman Catholics are receiving the sacrament of Holy Communion at the hands of Anglican bishops and priests, and the reverse is also the case."

Replying for the Vatican, Jan Cardinal Willebrands of the Netherlands did not take up the challenge, saying only that he hoped Christian unity would soon be "a monument more lasting than bronze."

In a brief address in English, Pope Paul said the pace of Catholic-Anglican collaboration "has quickened marvelously in recent years."

"It is a particular joy for us to gather in this spirit with Your Grace and with other leaders of the Anglican Communion, which in the words of the Second Vatican Council has with us a special



Pope, Archbishop Meet

The archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, shakes hand with Pope Paul VI as he arrives in the papal private study in Vatican city for a meeting with the pontiff Thursday (UPI).

place . . . We must not see such a celebration as mere nostalgia for the past, but rather as a spiritual reality."

Both churches have expressed the hope that Dr. Coggan's three-day visit for talks and prayers with the Pope would help remove some of the bars to unity between Anglicans and Roman Catholics after four centuries of separation. Vatican sources cautioned, however, that unifying the churches was many years away.

Three months ago, a joint

Anglican-Roman Catholic commission agreed that unity was possible despite major theological differences. These were identified as the Anglicans' refusal to recognize the infallibility of the Pope in doctrinal matters and to recognize his primacy over a unified church, the issue over which King Henry VIII broke away and founded the Church of England in 1534.

Thursday's was the third such meeting since Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher and

Pope John XXIII held historic talks here in 1960.

Today, the 67-year-old archbishop and the 79-year-old Pope are to pray together in the Sistine Chapel.

At a service Thursday in St. Paul's Anglican Church here, Anglican, U.S. Episcopal and Roman Catholic priests alternated saying prayers.

The service ended with the hymn "A Mighty Fortress is Our God," composed by Martin Luther, leader of the Protestant Reformation.

